

# *The* MISSOURI HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Historical Notes and Comments

Missouri History Not Found in Textbooks

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FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER, Editor

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## ADVISORY CONSTITUTIONAL OPINIONS OF THE MISSOURI SUPREME COURT

BY BUEL LEOPARD SMITH

During the past few years there has been considerable discussion of the power of courts to render advisory opinions. In view of this discussion it is interesting to note that for ten years, 1865 to 1875, Missouri had such a provision in its constitution. The section read as follows:

"The judges of the Supreme Court shall give their opinion upon important questions of constitutional law and upon solemn occasions, when required by the Governor, the Senate or the House of Representatives and all such opinions shall be published in connection with the reported decisions of said court."<sup>1</sup>

Missouri's first constitution did not contain a similar section. The journal of the constitutional convention of 1865 shows that this provision was included in the report of the judiciary committee.<sup>2</sup> When the article on the judicial department was under discussion, two amendments to the section quoted above were proposed. The first suggested the omission of the words "and upon solemn occasions"; the second proposed the omission of the entire section. Both were rejected and the section was adopted as reported.<sup>3</sup>

Ten years later, 1875, Missouri adopted another constitution. The section providing for advisory opinions was not included and the journal of the convention shows no reason for its omission. It was not reported by the judiciary committee<sup>4</sup> and none of the amendments proposed included this feature. It seems strange that an entire section should have been left out, apparently without comment, especially since the court had been asked for opinions a number of times.

<sup>1</sup>Constitution 1865, Art. VI, Sec. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Journal 1865 Convention, pp. 155ff.

<sup>3</sup>Journal 1865 Convention, p. 169.

<sup>4</sup>Journal 1875 Convention, p. 33ff.

Upon the Supreme Court, of course, fell the interpretation of this section, and in doing so the court placed certain restrictions upon its own powers. Apparently no request called forth an interpretation of the word, "important." It did on several occasions refuse to give an answer because the inquiry did not involve a question of constitutional law but no distinctions are made between "important" and unimportant questions of constitutional law.

In refusing an answer to the House of Representatives concerning an extension of time on the Hannibal & St. Joseph Railway bonds, the court gave as one of its reasons the fact that the questions asked were not ones of constitutional law but depended upon the facts and principles of common law.<sup>5</sup>

The determination of what were "important questions of constitutional law" and what were "solemn occasions" was left to each department of the state government to determine and the court deemed it necessary to reply.<sup>6</sup> This ruling, however, is in direct conflict with the doctrine previously set forth. In replying to the governor regarding the payment of the Pacific Railroad bonds the court prefaced its opinion by expressly stating that the determination of whether the occasion was such as to warrant an answer rested with the court itself.<sup>7</sup>

The doctrine of the separation of powers was adhered to by the court. It refused to render opinions when the question involved the power of another branch of the government. When the Senate asked if the General Assembly had power to make certain changes in the charters of incorporated companies, the court replied that the executive and legislative branches of the government are, in the first instance, the proper judges of their own constitutional powers and duties.<sup>8</sup> Again, when the governor asked if it were proper for him to issue a commission to a certain official, the court answered, "It is well settled that in issuing a commission the governor acts in a political or executive capacity, and he alone can

<sup>555</sup> *Mo.* 497.

<sup>555</sup> *Mo.* 497.

<sup>749</sup> *Mo.* 216.

<sup>837</sup> *Mo.* 135.

judge whether the power should be exercised or not; and the courts can neither control nor interfere with him in the exercise of this right."<sup>9</sup>

Where property rights of private individuals were concerned the court would not render an opinion. This attitude was well expressed in reply to a question of the Senate relating to the constitutionality of the sale of the North Missouri Railroad Company in which the court said, "It is not contemplated by the constitution that the judges are to give their opinion in any question which may hereafter come before them for adjudication. The expression of opinions on such matters might be looked upon as prejudging the case and would greatly embarrass the court in its subsequent adjudications."<sup>10</sup>

During the ten years that this section was operative the Supreme Court was asked for an opinion in eleven instances. Six of the requests came from the governor, three from the Senate and two from the House of Representatives. Seven opinions were delivered, while in four instances the court felt that the questions asked were not proper ones for its determination.

Two of the cases in which the court refused an opinion involved the powers of the General Assembly. In one the Senate propounded three questions, two having to do with the powers of the legislature to change the charters of corporations previously incorporated; the other asking if Section 6 of Article 8 applied to corporations doing business in the state prior to July 4, 1865. The court replied that the questions asked must involve the construction of some part of the constitution and must be in their nature judicial questions, the final determination of which rests with the judiciary. Furthermore, the legislative branch of the government is, in the first instance, the proper judge of its own powers.<sup>11</sup>

In the other case the question related to the power of the General Assembly to pass a bill giving an extension of twenty years to the Hannibal and St. Joseph Railroad on its indebted-

<sup>9</sup>58 Mo. 369.

<sup>10</sup>51 Mo. 586; 58 Mo. 369.

<sup>11</sup>37 Mo. 135.

ness. The court refused to answer for two reasons: *first*, that it was not a question of constitutional law, and *second*, that the interests of corporations and private persons were involved which might come before the court for settlement at a later date.<sup>12</sup>

That private interests were involved was also the basis for the court's refusal to render an opinion on the constitutionality of the sale of the North Missouri and Missouri Pacific railroads.<sup>13</sup>

Two distinct questions were asked by Governor Woodson in 1874. A law passed in 1874 attached Benton county to the Twenty-fifth judicial circuit. The county previously had been a separate circuit. The new law repealed the old section but did not go into effect until January 1, 1875. At the election in 1874 a judge was elected for Benton county, the people claiming that the new act was unconstitutional and void, since it failed to authorize them to vote in the election of 1874, and because the circuit had been changed at a session preceding a general election. The governor then inquired as to the constitutionality of the new law and also as to whether he should issue a commission to the newly-elected judge. To the first question the court replied that the act was already on the statute books and that an opinion should be given only when raised in some proceeding pending before the judges. The court further held that in issuing commissions the governor acts in a political or executive capacity and cannot be interfered with by the judiciary.<sup>14</sup>

The first request for an opinion came in the fall of 1865, shortly after the adoption of the new constitution. Bills had been introduced in the General Assembly providing for the sale of the St. Louis & Iron Mountain Railroad and the Southwest branch of the Pacific Road. "If the bills introduced are passed", wrote the governor, "they will be submitted to me for approval; and it may also become necessary to express my views on the questions involved by special message to the General Assembly. I therefore desire to know . . . your opinion

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<sup>12</sup>55 Mo. 497.

<sup>13</sup>51 Mo. 586.

<sup>14</sup>58 Mo. 369.

...." Several questions followed. In reply the court said that the legislature had the power to sell the railroads but that a lien upon all the property and franchises sold must be reserved for the amount unpaid by the purchaser. The court further held that the state could not receive in payment shares issued by the purchasing corporation.<sup>15</sup> A law authorizing the sale of these and other roads was passed and signed by the governor. Among other terms of the sale were the conditions prescribed by the court.<sup>16</sup>

The next opinion also related to railroads.<sup>17</sup> Without giving reasons the judges held that the General Assembly had the power to relinquish and release the first mortgage lien upon the franchise and property of the North Missouri Railroad as provided in the act approved February 16, 1865. The inquiry, in this instance, came from the governor.<sup>18</sup> Still another opinion dealt with railroad bonds. The questions asked by Governor Brown had to do with the payment of the Pacific Railroad bonds—when they were payable, out of what funds, by whom, and in what money. The opinion stated that the bonds were payable twenty years from date (January 15, 1852), that they were to be paid only out of a fund expressly set aside for that purpose by the legislature; that the state interest fund and the state sinking fund were appropriated for the payment of these and other state bonds; and that they were to be paid by the state commissioners provided for in the acts creating those funds without further authorization. It was further held that since the bonds, according to their terms, were payable in gold or silver coin, this provision was not overruled by the legal tender acts passed by Congress in 1862, and that it would be a breach of the contract to order the payment in legal tender notes.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>15</sup>37 Mo. 129.

<sup>16</sup>Laws 1866, p. 107.

<sup>17</sup>Missouri first granted state aid to railroads in 1851. For the next decade grants were made with a lavish hand. When, in the sixties, a settlement was made, Missouri was the loser to the extent of nearly 25 million dollars, through financial aid or credit. By 1860 all the roads but one had defaulted payment on their bonds. Between 1866 and 1868 the State foreclosed the mortgages and sold the roads.

<sup>18</sup>37 Mo. 139.

<sup>19</sup>49 Mo. 216.

One of the most interesting opinions reflects the turbulent conditions of the Civil war period. In 1864 circuit attorneys were elected for four years. Later, in accordance with the Vacating Ordinance passed by the Constitutional Convention on March 17, 1865, the offices were declared vacant.<sup>20</sup> The governor was authorized to fill the vacancies by appointment for the remainder of the term. Later the new constitution was adopted. Now, asked the governor, should the offices be filled at the election in 1866? The majority of the court held that the vacating ordinance was organic in its nature and could not be altered or changed by legislative enactment. The office of circuit attorney was not a constitutional one and ordinarily would be regulated by the legislature. In this case the title to the office was vested in the appointees for a given length of time by an act having the effect of constitutional law. The section of the new constitution which directed that the appointment of all officers not otherwise provided for should be made in such manner as should be provided by law, was held to be inapplicable in this case. Justice Holmes delivered a dissenting opinion, holding that the above section was applicable and was paramount to the act of the Constitutional Convention.<sup>21</sup>

One change made in the judiciary by the Constitution of 1865 was the establishment of a system of intermediate courts of appeal, known as district courts, each district being composed of not less than three circuits. The system did not relieve the congestion in the Supreme Court as had been hoped and the repeal of the section was contemplated. Upon the request of the governor as to the power of the legislature in the matter the court replied that the General Assembly undoubtedly had the power to repeal the chapter organizing the courts, but the consequence of such a repeal was quite another matter. The constitution made the establishment of the district courts imperative upon the legislature. Also no case could reach the Supreme Court either by appeal or writ of error except on final judgment taken from one of the district

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<sup>20</sup>*Journal 1865 Convention*, p. 282.

<sup>21</sup>38 *Mo.* 419.



courts.<sup>22</sup> Instead of attempting the repeal of the chapter the legislature submitted a constitutional amendment abolishing the courts, which was ratified by the voters.<sup>23</sup>

Another opinion discussed the power of the General Assembly to pass a general redistricting law for judicial circuits. The constitution provided that "no judicial circuit shall be altered or changed at any session of the General Assembly next preceding the general election for said judges." This section, the court held, was meant to apply only to specific changes in particular circuits and would not prohibit the legislature from abolishing the entire system and establishing a new one. The judges would continue to hold their offices until the end of their terms, at which time the old circuits would be abolished.<sup>24</sup> In that year the General Assembly passed a series of bills which made changes in ten of the circuits.<sup>25</sup> The request for this opinion came from the Senate.

"With a view to further and effective legislation," the House of Representatives requested an opinion upon the constitutionality of the township organization law. The law provided that the voters of a county might, by a two-thirds vote, come under the provisions of the law. The majority of the court was of the opinion that the law did not delegate legislative power to the counties. The law was general. By voting for it the county did not create a law but merely came within its provisions. In a dissenting opinion Justice Vories argued that the law was unconstitutional on the ground that it attempted to delegate legislative power to the counties.<sup>26</sup>

Judging from the number of requests the governor found the advisory opinion the most valuable,—six of the eleven requests coming from him.

Three of the opinions pertained to prospective legislation. One of these contemplated the repeal of a statute. An amendment was submitted to the voters instead and may have been due to the opinion of the court which pointed out the consequences of repeal. In the case relating to the sale of railroads,

<sup>22</sup>43 Mo. 351.

<sup>23</sup>Laws 1870, p. 500.

<sup>24</sup>55 Mo. 215.

<sup>25</sup>Laws 1874, Adj. Sess., p. 34ff.

<sup>26</sup>55 Mo. 295.

the governor signed the bill in question; the opinion of the court evidently convincing him of the constitutionality of the measure. Since the terms of the sale were substantially the same as those laid down by the court, one might wonder if the legislature were influenced to any extent by the opinion. The court gave its unqualified approval of a general redistricting of the judicial circuits. The legislature passed a series of bills changing ten of the circuits. Whether this was the plan in mind when the question of constitutionality was raised it is impossible to say. In general it would probably be safe to say that the opinions did carry considerable weight and influenced legislation to some extent.

The care of the court not to interfere with or dictate to other branches of the government is noticeable. Certainly the omission of the devise from the next constitution could not have been due to any tendency of the court to enlarge its authority at the expense of the other departments.

Missouri was not unique in providing for advisory opinions. In the United States the provision was first found in the constitution of Massachusetts, adopted in 1780. Later it found its way, with various changes, into the constitutions of New Hampshire, Maine, Rhode Island, Florida, Colorado, South Dakota and Missouri. Missouri is the only state that has discarded it. Many advisory opinions have also been given in states where the constitutions did not expressly authorize the Supreme Court to render such opinions.<sup>27</sup>

In ten years eleven opinions were asked of the Missouri Supreme Court and seven given. This is about the same proportion as is found in other states. Mr. Ellingwood's study shows the following figures for the other states:<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Ellingwood "The Advisory Function of the World Court," in *American Bar Association Journal*, Vol. XII, No. 2, February, 1926, p. 102.

<sup>28</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 107.

Massachusetts.....	125 opinions in 145 years
New Hampshire.....	51 opinions in 141 years
Maine.....	62 opinions in 105 years
Rhode Island.....	53 opinions in 83 years
Florida.....	51 opinions in 57 years
Colorado.....	94 opinions in 39 years
South Dakota.....	16 opinions in 36 years

The objection sometimes made that such a provision would allow the political body to impose on the judiciary by adding materially to its labors seems not to be borne out by the facts in Missouri and other states.

Advisory opinions have no binding effect as precedents. They are comparable to the opinions given by the attorney general. The courts generally have held that a person is not exempt from legal liability if he acts upon what proves to be an incorrect opinion of the attorney general. The same no doubt would hold true for advisory opinions. But there is a strong probability that the law has been correctly stated, and the other branches of the government would be slow in disregarding the advice for which they had expressly asked. Mr. Ellingwood says, "I have been unable to find a single case among the many opinions given by the courts in Massachusetts and Colorado where the executive or legislature acted in opposition to the advice given by the justices."<sup>29</sup>

The Missouri experiment in advisory opinions would seem to prove nothing at all, interesting though it is. Although discarded after ten years it was done so quietly that its omission certainly was not due to its being regarded as dangerous. It apparently did not even interest the framers of the new constitution.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 108.

## SOME IMPRESSIONS OF FRANK P. BLAIR

BY C. B. ROLLINS

Frank Preston Blair was always to me an interesting, picturesque character. As I recall him, he was a man of very rare physical charm, a noticeable figure in any group. It would be difficult for a stranger or even an indifferent observer to pass Blair in the street and not turn to look at him, and ask who is this man? He had an excellent figure, about five feet ten or eleven inches tall, and weighing from one hundred and seventy-five to one hundred and eighty pounds. His head which he carried with the air of a conqueror, was covered with a heavy growth of reddish brown hair, and well set on a rugged, muscular neck; a wiry body, lean of flank, legs a trifle thin perhaps, but well set and strong, shapely, rather small hands and feet; a full square brow, high cheek bones; steel grey eyes of great depth and light, that reflected his moods as accurately as a thermometer registers the temperature. Blair's eyes were an eloquent feature of his physiognomy, flashing and fierce, yet calm and steady, pitiless, even cruel, you could imagine, when aroused to anger, a strong argumentative nose, a long drooping red moustache, that hid the expression of his mouth, a full square chin, and the longest jaw from lobe of ear to points of chin, I ever saw. George C. Bingham, the Missouri Artist, who painted the best portrait of Blair I have ever seen, said, "I have endeavored to give the head all the rugged force which nature has bestowed upon the original, and I have given the figure the bearing, and attitude which would mark it as Blair's, even if the head were out of sight." These were some of the physical features that gave Blair the popular turn he possessed in such large degree.

Blair was a politician first, last and all the time. Politics was the very essence of his life, and while he made a fine, rather spectacular war record in the Civil war, politics not soldiering was his forte. By his marked courage, political sagacity and pull Blair reached a high place in military affairs, although he was in no sense a soldier: I mean an

educated, trained technical soldier. Sherman in his Memoirs sums up this idea very clearly in explaining why he selected General O. O. Howard rather than Blair, as General McPherson's successor, to command the Army of the Tennessee, after McPherson's death. Sherman says: "Blair was a man of great courage, and talent, but was a politician by nature, and experience. I regarded him as a volunteer that looked to personal fame, and glory as auxiliary, and secondary to his political ambition, and not as a professional soldier." Politics was Blair's profession, war his avocation. He fed and grew fat on politics: politics was in his blood.

Blair's father, old Francis Preston Blair, wielded great political influence in the country from the time Jackson called him to Washington in 1830, to take editorial charge of the *Globe*, the administration organ, up to the time of his death in 1876. Montgomery Blair, brother of Frank, Jr., who was a graduate from West Point, and from whom a military career might have been expected, was postmaster general in Lincoln's first cabinet. Through his brother, Montgomery, Frank had the ear of the President, and in the troublous days of 1861 in Missouri, Frank was a power in the politics of the state, and he used his power ruthlessly. His treatment of General Harney, I never thought justified by the facts. Harney was not the traitor he was made to appear, but these things come to pass in the game of politics. Overweening ambition frequently blunts the sense of finer things.

This political mindedness of Blair's led to many interesting and lively discussions between him and my father. In retrospect, I can see him now, as I frequently did then, standing on the hearth before a blazing fire in our library, his wiry figure silhouetted against the light, talking politics in general, and condemning specifically the Radicals (damned whelps as he called them), and urging my father to more vigorous action in certain political matters.

A letter from Blair to my father in 1866 shows somewhat his attitude toward the "Damned Radicals" at that date:

Boonville, 23rd May, 1866

Dear Rollins:

I promised to write you from this place after the speaking and I always keep my promises, differing in this from your old friend J. B. Henderson.

Well we had a very good time and a large audience. The Rads, I found had made many threats but they did not come to time. The people came out in their majesty and the Dutch did not feel themselves in condition to carry out their threats. I was interrupted once or twice by them, but I took Old Bullion's plan and insulted them in the grossest terms. The people shouted and cheered and they quieted down very quickly.

Yesterday at Rocheport I pitched into those who had called the democratic meeting in your county. I told the people that it was an attempt of the soreheads to secure the county offices. It was the only county in the state in which such meanness had crept into our grand organization to rescue the state from tyranny. That they owed it to themselves and to their friends elsewhere to crush it and its originators.

Give my most affectionate regards to your family, one and all, great and small and especially to my sweetheart, and believe me always,

Your friend

FRANK P. BLAIR

My father's devotion to the University was from time to time a source of irritation to Blair, who thought it a waste of talent and neglect of party interest. He expresses this idea in a characteristic letter written in 1867:

Dear Jim:-

I rec'd your letter of the 7th inst. this morning, and reply at once. I do not like the attitude you take, in fact am indignant at it. Your persistent advocacy of your local interest is unwise. They are not material, or, pressing at this time. Why the devil don't you stick a chunk of fire under your little college and burn it up? It is ruining you politically, and doing the party great harm. Instead of placating the damned Radicals to get their support for your pet measures in the legislature, you should be giving them hell from every stump in the state. You can do this with more grace, and better effect than any man in the state. You are wasting your ammunition on small game.

Don't let your good nature, or your interest in the Agricultural College, or any other University matter, deter you from doing your plain duty at this time. I know I am right in this, and hope you will give heed to what I say. Let me hear from you soon.

Your friend,

FRANK

No doubt these "local interests" did seem small game to Blair, who at this time had his eye on the presidency and was nominated for vice president with Seymour in 1868. Blair had an interesting way of expressing himself and some of his phrases were vivid and amusing. In a letter to my father, just after the Liberal Republican Convention had nominated Horace Greeley for president, Blair, in commenting on Carl Schurz's disappointment at Greeley's nomination says:—"Carl Schurz was cut to the quick, and like Achilles is sulking in his tent, but he will come to his milk."

In Blair's ordinary talk, and in his letters there was a generous sprinkling of profanity and this increased both in frequency and vigor in proportion to his interest in the subject under discussion.

Blair and my father were government directors of the Union Pacific railroad, and in the summer of 1868 they went on an inspection tour of the road, taking me along. In Omaha, Nebraska, Blair made a speech in which he expressed the opinion that "if we elected Grant to the Presidency of the United States, we would sign the death warrant of our Republic, that Grant would establish himself as dictator and would only come out of the White House feet foremost." This was political buncombe, of course, but was received with wild applause by the Democratic element of the audience. Grant was elected, and re-elected, yet no such dire calamity as Blair predicted came to pass.

Blair's self confidence and courage were part and parcel of the man and a big factor in his career. He was of a bouyant, cheerful disposition; his spirits, under all conditions, would bob up like a cork on the water. This optimism, this resiliency of spirit, was noticeable in his conversation. It is unfailing and eloquently present in the letters I still have from him to my father; it runs through them as a dominant theme runs through a symphony. He expresses this attitude himself in so many words in one of his letters, and it is symptomatic of the man's temperament, politically, and otherwise. Writing to my father under date of April 1869 Blair says:

"I am neither disgusted nor discouraged with politics and look hopefully to the future of the country, and have never

known what it was to despair for myself. You will consider this the very exaltation of confidence in one who has had such sad reverses. I shall not attempt to justify it or explain it. I only affirm that it is true." Blair, however, was not that type of optimist who sits down and lets nature take its course: he never ceased his labors to accomplish a desired end. His philosophy was expressed in a letter to my father written December 1870. He says,

"Confidence is not a bad thing, if it does not induce one to relax his efforts."

Even his severe stroke of paralysis in 1872, did not break his indomitable spirit or affect his cheerfulness. In a dictated letter to my father December 20, 1872, Blair, who at that time could not write, says:

"...my illness... is much worse than I anticipated when I last wrote you. Nothing more, or less than a paralysis of the right side, leg and arm, caused by the excessive use of tobacco. I expect to be in Jefferson City, at the meeting of the legislature, and I hope you will be there also. I find that my opponents have been using the fact of my illness to procure my defeat. I do not think they have been very successful, and I have no doubt of the favorable result."

Despite the fact that Blair was a mortally stricken man, he resumed in January, 1872, his duties in the United States Senate to which he had been appointed in 1871, to fill out the unexpired term of Charles D. Drake who had resigned the senatorship upon his election to the Court of Claims in Washington, D. C. Blair never recovered from his stroke of paralysis, but with his optimism and resourcefulness learned to write with his left hand, and continued with unabated zeal his political schemes and projects.

Although I never saw Blair intoxicated, he was, as were many men of that day, a hard drinker, in the sense that he was a constant and capacious drinker. I recall one occasion in particular, (it was in 1867 I think), that is fairly typical of the way Blair could carry his liquor. He had made a speech at the old Fair Grounds in Columbia. The day was hot, he had had a great audience and made a good speech. I drove



home with Blair and my father after his speech and as we entered the cool hall-way of our house, Blair turned to my father and said, "Jim I want a good drink of whiskey." A decanter, with glasses, pitcher of water, sugar and cracked ice was placed on the hall table. Blair ignoring the accessories, filled one of the glasses, a tumbler, holding nearly half a pint with good old Bourbon, and drank it off with great relish. The only effect it seemed to have on him was to stimulate his conversational powers, and he abused the "damned Radicals" in picturesque and lurid fashion. I recall my father saying to him on that occasion, "Frank, this habit of drink is going to ruin you. You should give it up." I remember distinctly the expression on Blair's face as he said, "Jim this is no habit; I can quit it any day I choose. On my speaking tours about the state, I need a bracer now and then, to keep me in good shape." A few years later, however, perceiving, no doubt that his bracers had become a habit, and realizing he should call a halt, Blair, with his iron will stopped drinking overnight, which it was currently said resulted in a stroke of paralysis in November 1872, although, as we have seen he himself attributed the stroke to the excessive use of tobacco. No doubt each played a part in the result.

Blair though bold and aggressive as a lion when occasion demanded, was a good natured, kindly man. I recall but three occasions when he seems to have shown vindictiveness, and in all these instances he no doubt felt himself justified. The one was the Harney case. Another was his violent quarrel with General Sterling Price, when, face to face, he denounced Price in a bitter, scathing philippic, comparing him with Judas Iscariot, and telling him he was a fit subject for a felon's brush. This was the day when the code duello was in flower, and I have wondered why Price did not avail himself of his rights under the code. The third and last was his affair with Lorenzo Pickering, a journalist, of St. Louis. Though opposed to the custom of duelling Blair challenged Pickering and would have met him on the so-called "field of honor," had Pickering "toed the mark".

Blair's two last quarrels sprang from his defense of Benton, and these two men were the first representatives of Missouri in the National Hall of Fame.

Time seems to maintain a sort of equilibrium in the relationship of families. I recall the interesting fact that twenty-five years after the violent hostilities between Blair and Price, that a son of Blair married the charming grandniece of Sterling Price.

The last time I ever saw Blair, was in February, 1874, when he with other old politicians, among them, John B. Henderson, James O. Broadhead, B. Gratz Brown and others, came often to the old Planters Hotel, St. Louis, to see my father who was ill there. Blair at this time, was a wreck of his former self. With crutch and cane, and an old negro body servant to aid him, he managed with difficulty to get about. Yet despite his condition, one arm and one leg literally in the grave, that unquenchable flame, ambition, the motive power of his life, still urged him to reach out after the little baubles of this world, evoking my sympathy and admiration.

Blair died in St. Louis, July 8, 1875, at the age of 54, and is buried in Bellefontaine Cemetery.

## EXPERIENCES OF LEWIS BISSELL DOUGHERTY ON THE OREGON TRAIL

EDITED BY ETHEL MASSIE WITHERS

CAPTAIN LEWIS BISSELL DOUGHERTY

Captain Lewis Bissell Dougherty was born December 7, 1828, at Fort Leavenworth, where his father, Major John Dougherty, Indian agent for all the western tribes, had his headquarters. He was the first white child born at the Fort and the second born on Kansas soil.

After a boyhood spent amid the excitement of an Army post, followed by experience at frontier forts in Nebraska Territory and Wyoming, he served for four years as a captain in the Confederate army during the Civil War, and then returned to civilian life, identifying himself prominently with affairs in Liberty and Clay county, where his father had established the family home. He died in Liberty, August 16, 1925, and was buried in Fairview cemetery there. The funeral services were held at the Presbyterian Church, August 18, with Masonic honors, in recognition of his fifty-two years' official connection with that order.

Captain Dougherty's father, Major John Dougherty, was born April 12, 1791, in Kentucky, and came west to St. Louis, where in 1808 he joined an expedition to the far Northwest. From 1809 to 1815 he traveled in the Rocky Mountain region, spending six winters on the Columbia river in the service of the American Fur Company. In 1819-20 he was a member of Major Stephen H. Long's expedition, as interpreter for Major Benjamin O'Fallon, government agent for Indian affairs in Missouri.

His acquaintance with the country and the Indians eventually led to his appointment as Indian agent of the Upper Missouri tribes with headquarters at different times at Fort Leavenworth, St. Louis, and Council Bluffs. With this office came the rank of major.

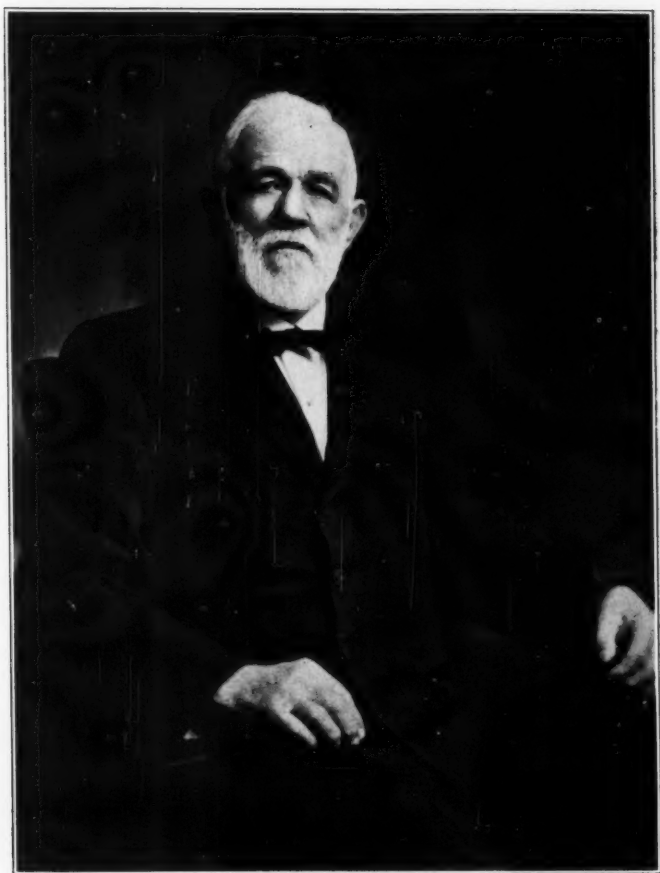
According to an old journal, Major Dougherty "had a commanding and easy dignity, a bright and intellectual eye, an unvarying candor and directness in all his intercourse with them (the Indians) which at once pleased, charmed and over-awed." His familiarity with French and with many Indian dialects made it possible for him to communicate directly with his charges and contributed to a better understanding. He made treaties with the Otoes, the Missouris, the Pawnees, Iowas, Sacs, Fox, and other tribes.

Political differences caused his removal from government service in 1837, in Van Buren's administration. The *Missouri Republican* said editorially: "In losing the services of Major Dougherty the government has lost a valuable public officer, one of the first for integrity and worth in the land—the Indians a faithful and unflinching friend."

Major John Dougherty moved to a large estate in Clay county, but continued his western affiliations in the business of United States sutler and freighter until 1855. In 1840 he was elected to the Legislature on the Whig ticket. Major Dougherty delighted in entertaining his friends at the fine residence he completed in 1856, seven miles northwest of Liberty, on the road leading to Leavenworth. This house, which he named Multnomah, was a center of hospitality while he, and later, his sons, made it their home, and remains today one of the most striking residences in Clay county, despite nearly 50 years of tenant occupancy. Its builder died December 28, 1860.

Major Dougherty left four children. His daughter had married General Charles F. Ruff and gone east. His sons, Lewis Bissell, O'Fallon, and John Kerr, carried names reminiscent of his early association with Meriwether Lewis, Bissell and Major O'Fallon.

Such was the background of Captain Lewis Bissell Dougherty. After graduation from the University of Missouri in 1847, he set out the following year for Fort Kearney in Nebraska Territory, spending the night of his twentieth birthday, December 7, 1848, at a Pawnee village on the way.



LEWIS BISSELL DOUGHERTY



From 1849 to 1852 he was in charge of his father's store at Fort Kearney. From 1852 to 1856 he was stationed 325 miles farther west at Fort Laramie, Wyoming.

On December 7, 1858, Lewis Bissell Dougherty married Annie M. Carey, a member of a prominent pioneer family of Platte county. To this union were born three children, one of whom died in childhood.

When the Civil War broke out, Mr. Dougherty organized Company B of the Third Missouri Confederate Infantry and became its captain, by which title he was known the rest of his life. Expecting to be home again within three weeks, he left his young wife with a degree of cheerfulness he would never have felt had he known it would be four long years before he would see his home or her again. The fortunes of war took him over much of the South and into many severe engagements. His brother, John Kerr Dougherty, a member of his company, fell at Franklin, Tennessee. Captain Dougherty was wounded at Kenesaw Mountain, was held a prisoner at Island No. 10 after the fall of Vicksburg, and when the war ended was in prison on Johnson Island in Lake Erie.

His little daughter, Flora Stuart, born in September after he left home in June, was four years old before he ever saw her. The wife and baby spent this time at Multnomah with his mother and brother O'Fallon.

Immediately after the Civil War, Captain Dougherty assisted in organizing the Liberty Savings Association, now the Liberty Commercial Bank. In 1871, he was called from the farm to become cashier, a position he held for 35 years. From 1906 until his death in 1925 he served the bank as vice-president.

My personal acquaintance with Captain Dougherty was limited to the last twenty years of his life, and I knew him best as the senior elder in the Presbyterian Church at Liberty. His presence was a benediction to the church, which he had served as elder since May, 1878.

In 1922, Captain Dougherty served on an honorary committee in the celebration of Clay county's centennial. With Richard L. Raymond and Colonel William H. Woodson,

other surviving members of a large group of citizens who had arranged for an elaborate celebration of the County's semi-centennial in 1872, he gave valuable reminiscences and helpful suggestions, for 85 of his 94 years had been spent in Clay county.

Captain Dougherty retained his mental alertness and interest in public affairs until his death, at the age of 97, at his home in Liberty, where his daughter, Mrs. C. C. Courtney, the baby Flora of Civil War days, still lives. She tells of the dignity and kindliness of her father, of his patience and love, and also of his strict severity, which led him to demand of himself, and of those about him, a well-ordered life.

Schools and education always held an important place in his mind. This daughter he sent to Virginia, more than 50 years ago, to boarding school. In 1890, he and his brother O'Fallon gave ten acres adjoining Liberty to be used as a campus for Liberty Ladies' College. The college burned in 1913, and ten years later the cornerstone of a splendid high school building was laid on the site.

Captain Dougherty's descendants through Mrs. C. C. Courtney are a granddaughter, Mrs. Leah Courtney Martin, and two great-grandsons, Roger Courtney Martin and William Courtney Martin, of Bedford, Indiana.

His only son, John Lewis Dougherty of Liberty died in 1927, leaving one son, Lewis B. Dougherty II, who is now connected with the bank organized by his grandfather. There are two small great-granddaughters, Jean and Elise Dougherty. Lewis B. Dougherty II, in May, 1917, when barely twenty years old, joined the American Ambulance Service, attached to the French Army. With the United States in the war, he returned home and entered the aviation service, in which he was under training when the Armistice was declared.

Of Captain Lewis Bissell Dougherty, Judge James M. Sandusky, a close friend and business associate of more than forty years' standing, wrote in the *Liberty Tribune*:

"A good soldier in war, he made a good citizen in times of peace. He was as much distinguished for his modesty as for his constant devotion to his sense of duty. Kindly by



nature and conservative in thought and speech, he was always considerate of the rights, opinions and feelings of others. He was liberal in his ideas as well as with his purse, and in the sphere of his religious activities he was above bigotry or prejudice. Upon questions involving good morals he stood consistently for social betterment. A home-loving man, he seemed to find his supreme satisfaction in the tranquility of his fireside and in the companionship of his family."

Though his long life in various environments brought him many adventurous and historical experiences, his natural reticence kept him from discussing them. To the importance of his only granddaughter are we indebted for the stories of his young manhood spent in the Northwest.<sup>1</sup> These tales of early travels when the Indian, buffalo and bear, deep snow, swollen river, burning sun and steep declivity beset the way at different times, give a graphic picture of the period. They were written for the sake of one little baby boy, but their appeal reaches to all who are interested in the history of the Northwest, so filled with romance, daring, fortitude, courage, and tragedy.—Ethel Massie Withers, January, 1930.

#### TRAVEL STORIES

##### FROM CLAY COUNTY TO FORT KEARNEY

I was sent to Fort Kearney in Nebraska to take charge of the sutler's store.\* On the trip from Nebraska City, I spent my twentieth birthday in the Pawnee Indian village, on the Platte river, December 7, 1848. Three days more and I reached the fort.

<sup>1</sup>"Leah Bell Martin, little mother of Roger Courtney Martin, less than three months old, concerned about the future pleasure and entertainment of her boy, requests me to write some stories of Indians, buffaloes or bears as I may remember; she to read them to him should he live to that age when such stories interest the average boy.

LEWIS BISSELL DOUGHERTY, SR.,  
March 13, 1906.

Liberty, Missouri."

\*In editing these stories written by Captain L. B. Dougherty, when he was 78 years old, no change was made in his language. For convenience and clarity, they have been grouped according to their subjects whether of travel, of Indians or of the hunt. His running account has been separated into individual stories which have been given titles. Captain Dougherty has explained unusual words. Locations may be found easily in any modern atlas.

C. F. Ruff, my brother-in-law, was in command. Mrs. Ruff and her second daughter, Margaret, were with him. The latter part of February, Captain Van Vleit, post quartermaster, was ordered East. Mrs. Ruff and daughter, desirous of seeing mother before starting for Oregon in the Spring, concluded to take advantage of the captain's escort, and accompany him to the States. Father and I also were of the party.

Owing to a very severe snow storm we remained two days and nights in the above-mentioned Pawnee village as, according to custom, they left their houses during the winter and followed the buffalo for meat.

There were hundreds of empty lodges in this village. They were very comfortable. They are built by erecting a frame of poles in the shape of an inverted coffee cup and covering it with thin sod. There is a hole in the center of the top for the smoke to pass out. The fire is built in the center of the floor and the occupants sit around the fire. Some of these lodges are twenty-five feet in diameter. They are very warm. The beds are made back of the sitting circle, sometimes entirely around the lodge, except at the entrance which is a hole left near the ground. One is required to stoop quite low on entering.

During the first night two Indians came in, an Otoe man and his Pawnee wife. Father could speak both languages, so we listened to quite a confab though we did not understand a word spoken.

In the morning, I thought I would try to kill a deer or antelope, but only succeeded in killing a very fat coyote wolf not far from our lodge. Thinking the Indians would like to have the hide, I dragged the wolf to the village and gave it to Mr. Otoe. He skinned it, brought a quarter of the meat in and roasted it before the fire and offered it to all of us. I tried it out of mere curiosity and Mag Ruff, the little girl, ate of it, and, as she had no prejudice, relished it.

Early on the morning of the third day, we started again for Nebraska City. The sun was shining brightly on the snow. Father advised us to blacken our faces around the eyes, thus preventing snow blindness. All acted upon the

suggestion except one man whose name was Job. On the fourth day just before we reached the City his eye burst. This man was killed sometime afterwards by lightning, in a saloon in Oregon, Missouri, while playing cards with three others.

On our arrival in Nebraska City, we found the ice on the Missouri river very rotten, consequently dangerous. In a very short time, it broke up and efforts were being made to invent some way to ferry us across. Very much to our surprise, a very large body of ice came down and lodged in the narrows immediately opposite the city where we had expected to ferry. After trying the ice, it was considered safe to cross light vehicles and animals over it. This was done, and with sister's ambulance\*, we started for Clay county, Missouri. We had not gone many miles when we were overtaken by a horseman who told us the ice upon which we had crossed the river was all out and much of it piled up on the bank ten to fifteen feet high.

We had to travel very slowly as the continuous rains in Missouri had made the roads very muddy. The streams were all full and some were out of their banks. When we came to the Tarkio river, we found it about one-third of a mile wide. Usually, it is not more than fifty feet wide. Not being familiar with the stream, I concluded to examine the crossing carefully before driving on to the bridge with the ambulance. Taking one of the horses, I rode bareback to the bridge. I found the apron gone, leaving a jump up of two feet to get on to the bridge. I returned to the ambulance, hitched to it, and leaving sister and party drove to the bridge, unhitched, jumped the horses up and pulled the ambulance up by hitching to the tongue, placing one end of a plank under the wheels and the other on the bridge. I then jumped the horses down and went back after sister and the others. With two on each horse, sister drawing her feet up on to the horse's back to keep them out of the water and holding to my shoulder, we reached the bridge.

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\*A light vehicle with springs used to transport passengers.

On the east side of the stream was considerable timber, through which the road had been cut. Fearing I might run against a stump, I got down into the water and examined the entire road to high and dry ground. We jumped the ambulance into the water, backed it up to the bridge and sister and party got into it from the back. The horses were hitched and we were soon on dry land.

Thinking of the number of large houses in Liberty occupied by only two persons, reminds me of one night we spent on our trip. It was at Jackson's Point at the junction of two roads, one leading to Oregon and the other to Savannah, Missouri. Two rooms and a small kitchen was the extent of the hotel.

The night we were at this hotel there were twenty-five men, women and children besides the hotel people. After supper beds were made all over the two rooms, one room for the women and children and the other for the men. Notwithstanding the seeming inconvenience every one seemed to be in a good humor and all ready to eat their grub in the morning.

In the first settling of the upper Missouri, a very large room was built of logs with one door and one small window. The whole family lived in this room, and for modesty's sake, when the mother thought it time to retire for the night, she would break up the semi-circle in front of the huge log fire by giving the command "eyes to the fire." This command was obeyed strictly by the male portion of the household while the female portion would retire to their respective beds for the night, when the mother would command "eyes at ease" as the curtains were lowered around the beds.

The men would retire at their pleasure, to be up first in the morning and away before the mother and girls awoke. When the men and boys came in for breakfast, they found the table groaning with fat bacon, corn bread in pone, fried onions, wild honey and plenty of milk and butter.

Finally, after our hotel experience, in two days we reached the old home to find mother and sister's older daughter, Mary, very well.

I remained at home but a few days when I returned to Nebraska City, fitted out a dozen or more ox teams and wagons, hired as many drivers, and waited in camp about one mile from the city for the boat to arrive from St. Louis with goods for the store at Fort Kearney.

Now for my first story, which is to be not of real Indians but of imaginary ones. Of course there is always mischief hatched where hands are idle.

Among the drivers in camp was a lank, ungainly man from Iowa, by name Tom Yost, who created the impression that he was half witted, which I never found to be the case when a clear head was needed. Some of the other men concluded they would have fun out of him. They put him on guard one night around the cattle, telling him I had heard of Indians near and was fearful they might steal some of the oxen. He always carried two guns and a long butcher knife in his belt.

He was placed on guard farthest from camp, beyond the oxen, and told to shoot anything approaching him from the west, let it be man or beast. Before placing him on guard the would-be fun makers extracted ball and shot from his guns. After he had fairly settled on his rounds of guard duty, three or four of the men went around him and came toward him from the west with guns and with blankets around their persons.

When Yost first saw them, he unstrapped his shot gun from his back to have it ready. He then cocked his rifle and called out, "Who comes?" three times. No answer. He supposed they were Indians and fired his gun. There being no ball in the gun, no one fell, but the "Indians" still approached. He took up the shot gun and fired it twice, approaching the enemy rapidly. No shot in the gun—none killed. He dropped both guns and said, "If I can't hit with guns, I know what will cut!" He pulled out his long butcher knife and made for the bunch. Just as soon as they saw the fix they were in they ran together until Yost was about to overtake them, then they scattered. He never stopped, but pursued the one nearest, cutting at the blanket as it sailed out behind the wearer. After two large slits were made in it by Yost's knife, the wearer abandoned it to make better

time, got into the brush and was lost by the guard, who deliberately picked up the blanket and his abandoned guns and proceeded to guard duty until morning relieved him. He then told his story, exhibiting the slashed blanket. No one claiming it, by right of capture, it was his. The story never was made public by acknowledgment until we were well on our way to Kearney. After this when Yost was on guard his post was not bothered.

One day we found in a pool of a little branch which emptied into the Platte river quite a bed of mussels, a shell fish much like an oyster though much smaller and very tough. One of our drivers, a young man from near Baltimore, made a bet he could eat fifty of the mussels. I believe he would have won, but I was afraid I would have a sick man on my hands and declared the bet off.

One has a ravenous appetite for something new or fresh after living for days on bacon, bread, coffee and beans as most of the western travelers did.

After unloading at Kearney, the teams and wagons were started back to Missouri. I remained at Fort Kearney in my father's store and was there for the next four years.

#### OUTFITTING A WAGON TRAIN

Since the railroads have driven the old fashioned transportation by wagon and teams, from the West, it may be interesting to some not familiar with the means of transportation forty or fifty years ago to read an account of the outfitting of a train, as they were called.

When a new outfit is to be got ready, wagons are purchased, all alike if possible, and shipped to the starting point on the Missouri river, (Leavenworth and Nebraska City were the principal points for a long time). Oxen are purchased in Missouri and Iowa and driven to the point fixed upon. Drivers are hired and sent to the camp nearby.

The wagons are provided with double canvas sheets to protect the goods from rain while in camp. The oxen are yoked up and driven about as a sort of drill since many are very far from being broken, in order to make them biddable.

Usually six yokes of oxen are intended for each wagon. One yoke is placed astride the tongue of the wagon, the other five chained to the end of the tongue by which the load is pulled. The front yoke or leaders as they are called must be well broken, biddable oxen, subject to and obedient to the command of the driver without bit or rein. When the leaders and wheelers are biddable, the four yokes between the two are controlled although they may be very raw oxen. They soon become sober oxen after pulling heavy loads a few days.

When the goods arrive by steamer, the wagons are driven to the landing, the goods loaded and the wagons sent back to camp. When all the wagons are ready, the start is made. Such is the newness of everything that a very short drive is made for a day or two, then the drives are lengthened until from 16 to 20 miles can be made during the day. It is the practice of some wagon masters to make this drive each day and to eat only two meals.

As soon as it is light enough to see to yoke the cattle, a drive of five or six miles is made, then there is a stop for breakfast. The oxen are unyoked, put to graze and watered while the men are eating and greasing the wagons.\* This greasing is done every two or three days. It is called "greasing" but should be called "tarring" as tar is used mostly. The oxen are again yoked and a drive of about the same distance is made, though if convenient this should be the longest drive. The oxen are again unyoked, watered and put to graze. Now the men prepare their meal at leisure, eat, clear up everything and are ready for the third drive.

Starting about sun down, they drive until the driver of the first or leading team sees the wagon master sitting by the side of the road, when he turns his team, follows the direction of the wagon master and stops. The next team is driven by the side of the first, quite close, the third one stops his wagon with the off front wheel almost touching the near hind wheel of the first. The fourth team is stopped so that the near fore wheel is stopped near the off hind wheel of the second wagon, and by alternating the other teams as they are driven up,

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\*All wagons of that time had wooden axles.

a corral is formed. When completed a fair circle is made. As soon as a team is at its place, the oxen are unyoked and the night herder takes them in charge when all are freed from their yokes.

The wagon master selects a place for grazing. No more is seen of the oxen or herder until daylight the next morning when the routine of the preceding day is re-enacted.

As soon as the corral is made the men are ready for slumber; some in the wagons when the goods are not piled to the bows; some under the wagons; others wherever most convenient.

There are many unexpected hindrances in travel. All is smooth sailing until we reach a spongy crossing at a point which was once a creek. It may be two wagons are driven across safely but when the third one is driven in or on, down it goes to its hubs. You either double the team or unload and haul the empty wagon out. Now it will not do to try another wagon, so every one takes his butcher knife and a blanket, cuts as much grass as he can carry in the blanket, piles it on the marshy draw and tramples it down. Then a wagon is driven on and nearly always over. Sometimes before all the train is over the grass has to be replenished.

Sometimes we come to a stretch of sandy road two or three miles long when time is saved by doubling teams to pull half the wagons over and returning for the other half.

Sometimes a number of the oxen have escaped the watchfulness of the night herder and this causes a delay.

Sometimes an unaccountable nervousness comes over the cattle of a train which makes them very difficult to handle and frequently very dangerous. They will stampede and run with the loaded wagon, leaving the road and overturning it. I recall one morning not far from Nebraska City, three men came up to us in a hurry, much excited. They could do nothing with their teams when hitched to the wagons. They had heard we were loaded with goods and had come to see if we had any rope for sale. We had and sold them three bales of half-inch rope.

They intended to rope each oxen and have a man hold the ropes as he walked by its side. They had a sufficient



number of men, it being a California Emigrant train. They were heard of from time to time and were using the rope to advantage.

It is well established that cattle are very much afraid of snakes. I once had a confirmation of this fact in a very simple and scarcely to be believed story.

As a driver was using his whip, it became detached from the handle and fell across the road over which the oxen had to pass. Our ox, seeing the whip which resembled a snake, jumped all four feet off the ground, gave an unusual bawl, and the whole train in a twinkling was on the run. Fortunately, we were on a level road, yet it required great effort to quiet the cattle. Very little damage was done, two or three spokes were broken out of the wheels by one wheel running against another.

#### A TRIP FROM NEBRASKA CITY TO FORT LARAMIE

The most unprofitable trip I ever made was in the fall of the year from Nebraska City to Fort Laramie, Wyoming.

Our teams had been worked out in the spring and were well-seasoned, good travelers. We made good time as far as the crossing of the South Fork of Platte river, almost due south of Ash Hollow on the North Fork, about 15 miles distant. We camped for the night on the south bank of the river. Knowing we were to have trouble in crossing we made an early start the next morning. After several of us had crossed and recrossed several times on horseback, a crossing for the train was selected. We found the water, as usual, of various depths, from ten inches to three or four feet. The fall of water is considerable, the bottom being of sand which is always changing. We found the water in some places so deep that it was necessary to raise the beds of the wagons to keep the goods from being injured. Sometimes the goods were unloaded and a tarpaulin was put under and around them and they were crossed without injury. But generally the beds were raised by placing four dried buffalo heads under them, the heads resting on the bolster and against the standards. They seemed to be just fitted for this purpose. They raised the load about ten inches.

Owing to the depth of water in some places, we hitched to each wagon three teams so that when as was the case this time some of the oxen were swimming, others behind and before were pulling the load. This necessitated three trips for the teams over and back. In crossing, men walked by the side of the teams, holding on to the yokes and sometimes riding the oxen. This was done to keep them pulling and in the right direction. We succeeded in getting the wagons over a little before night. We formed our corral a short distance from the north bank of the river and not far from the sand hills to the north of us, the bottom being very narrow.

The oxen were turned loose after the trying day to feed on the drying grass, the night herder in charge. Not long after supper it commenced snowing. Such a storm is not often experienced.

The night herder was told to do the best he could under the circumstances, but if he was in danger of freezing to drive the cattle into the hills and come to camp. This he did. It snowed all night and blew a hurricane, drifting the snow mountain high in some places. In the morning, we found the snow about 15 feet deep in the corral, it being banked up north of the southern row of wagons and completely covering them, slanting from their tops toward the river. The mules of our mess wagon were fed and tied south of the corral, to the wagons. We could see nothing of them and supposed they had broken loose. Some of the men prowling about saw the legs of the mules. They had a complete covering of snow and appeared comfortable. They were brought into service at once as the cattle were scattered to the four winds and every riding animal was needed to hunt them.

After ten o'clock, they began to bring the oxen in, a few in a bunch. Two days hunting left us with forty head missing. Something had to be done, we were about 15 miles from a stick of fuel as large as your finger. We had, when we camped, a few small sticks of cedar which we had tied to the wagons fifty miles back. With this cedar and a few extra yokes we could fry bacon and make coffee.

In Ash Hollow, was plenty of wood and this point must be reached as quickly as possible. Owing to the loss of so

many oxen, we could not move all the wagons at once so we hitched to as many as we had teams for and started. The snow was so deep and so drifted that it took two days to make this 15 miles. The first night we camped on a high plain with nothing but snow in sight. We tied the cattle to the wagons without feed, to resume the journey early in the morning. We made the trip in tolerably good style, turned the cattle out to grass, made a roaring fire and feasted. We remained in Ash Hollow one day and night and then returned for the wagons we had left behind. Without the wagons this return trip was made easily in one day. We let the cattle graze two nights and one day and then started to Ash Hollow with the remaining wagons. This second trip was made in less time as the road was broken but even then we had to camp on the plain, securing the oxen as before.

Each day some of our lost oxen were brought in by the hunters, they having been kept out all the time after the storm. They were instructed to offer pay for any oxen found, to any Indians they should meet. One hunter met a small party and they consented to hunt and bring what they found to Ash Hollow. The second night after all was comfortably arranged, we were sitting around a blazing ash log fire, telling of the storm and other things when we were startled by the cry of "Friend" in the Sioux language. What a scattering of men for hiding and guns! I replied, "How," a salutation usually given by Indians when meeting. Six Indians dismounted and came to the fire. They had driven 18 head of oxen past our fire, not more than 30 yards away without our hearing a sound. We fed the Indians and when bedtime came, they delivered to me their arms, signifying they meant to do us no harm. In the morning, we gave a blanket to each, some sugar, coffee and rice, for finding and returning the oxen.

One will be only partially informed of the difficulties of a trip unless a description is given of how an entrance is made from the high plains down into Ash Hollow.

We reach the brink of a hill near one-third of a mile high which we have to descend to reach the level of the hollow. We detach all the oxen from the wagon except the wheel yoke, lock the two hind wheels with the lock chain attached

to the body of the wagon, and wrap a log chain around the tire so it will cut into the ground when the wagon is in motion. Frequently the other five yokes of oxen are hitched with their heads to the wagon behind. They being unaccustomed to this treatment, pull back and help to slow down the wagon.

Everything in the front of the wagons must be tied securely, or out comes the goods when the descent is begun. I cannot say at what angle we descend but it is so great that some go as far as to say "the road hangs a little past the perpendicular!" It must be seen for one to fully understand how steep is the hill. In ascending, a zigzag route is taken which is unsafe with loads.

#### TRAVELING WITH OXEN

It is astonishing how quickly a corral can be broken up and strung out on the road when teams are not broken and are not familiar with the routine. On unyoking, the yokes are stood up by the wagon to which the team belongs. As soon as the cattle are driven into the corral, the driver takes the yoke belonging to the cattle, walks to the off ox, yokes him, then calls his mate to come under. This order is obeyed promptly if the ox is near and this is nearly always the case with cattle that have been worked together long. This yoke is driven to its wagon and the others are treated in the same way, the second yoke fastened to the first by a log chain and so on until the wheelers are yoked. They are attached to their wagon and the first team is driven to its place in the train.\*

We had two yokes of oxen in one train that when yoked and commanded would go to their own wagon and get across the tongue selecting the right one out of twenty. Trains of wagons have been started in thirty minutes after the cattle were brought into the corral.

Some drivers become very much attached to their teams after handling them on long trips and would not suffer others to abuse them. This attachment was made very plain when

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\*A team of oxen is composed of all the couples yoked together whether two or twelve oxen or any other number are attached to a load.

on one trip I was informed that the drivers had agreed among themselves that a fine of one dollar should be inflicted upon anyone who struck with the bow (made of heavy hickory wood), in anger or severity, any ox of the herd. This fine was to be deducted from the pay of the guilty one.

Once, when yoking, a man named Wilch with a yoke under his left arm and the bow in his right hand in passing an ox, struck it with his foot and the ox in return kicked the man on the leg. He raised the bow over the ox's back but thinking of the fine lowered it, raised it and lowered it the second time. Seeing a comrade near, he remarked that if the ox kicked him again he would take two dollars out anyway.

Sometimes there was danger of Indians interrupting us by stealing cattle and we could not unyoke but would let them graze with yokes on. To make it still more difficult for them to get away with cattle we would fasten two teams together in a circle by bringing the leaders of the front team around to the rear of the wheelers of the second team and chaining them. Thus they could graze but only in a circle. They could not wander far away and could not be driven away.

This plan is trying on the teams as it is always best to keep the cattle yoked as little as possible. Two steers of equal weight, age and condition may be put to pasture and the one with an ox bow hanging over his neck will not improve as rapidly as the other without the bow.

After landing a train at the Fort, the wagons were unloaded and started on the return trip. For a few days there was danger of the teams running. A Frenchman, DeLisle by name, started to the States with one of our trains. When about four miles from the Fort, something scared one of the teams near the rear and its fright was communicated to all. They began to run. The wagons, now empty, seemed to be no hindrance to the fleeing cattle. Mr. DeLisle sent me word that four of the teams had not stopped running until they reached the camp last made on the way out, about 15 miles. Some of the oxen fell and had bones broken. Only two wagons were injured by running into each other. After two or three days the cattle become use to having no loads and are not scared so easily.

## LANDMARKS BETWEEN FORT KEARNEY AND FORT LARAMIE

There are several landmarks to be seen between Fort Kearney, Nebraska, and Fort Laramie, Wyoming. You first see the forks of the North and South Platte, quite a distance to your right looking west. Both seem to head in the same place, paralleling each other so far, looking like broad streaks bright with silver in the sun and not pleasant to the eye when looked upon for long. Both are shallow, their depths reaching from six inches to three or four feet, seldom past fording. I have crossed the main river near Kearney on foot and not wet my feet. There are hundreds of little streams over the entire bottom of the Platte from bank to bank. Above the forks the water is confined between banks nearer each other and there are not so many divisions.

Water may be brought to the surface even on dry-appearing sand between the little streams by treading in the same place a few times.

After crossing the South Fork and entering Ash Hollow, you start up the south bank of the North Fork. Twenty miles up you will see Court House rock resembling a Missouri court house so much as to deceive many on their first trip. Father was once passing with a colored lad driving his vehicle. He had heard of this rock, and when opposite, the boy called father's attention to the rock saying, "Court must be in session, there are many horses hitched near the house." There were cedar shrubs growing at the front. This is not a rock but a hard, dry hill with little or no grass on it.

Fifteen miles above is Chimney Rock which was seen thirty miles back. This is not rock but a part of the hills south of the river, cut off the main hill by wind, water and time. The space between it and the main hill is near 300 yards. It is a square column perhaps 100 feet on its sides and somewhat more in height.

Twenty feet from the top is a white clay rock completely exposed and corresponding to a similar ledge in the main hill, confirming the supposition that the hill and Chimney Rock were once connected. The wagon road passing it is near the river opposite the Chimney, due south. We had a

few hours in camp. The curiosity of some of the drivers induced them to walk out to it while dinner was being prepared. They imagined it was a mile distant. They made the trip but did not get back until we were ready to hitch up. I had ridden to it once on a fine walking horse and was just forty-nine minutes reaching it. The distance was at least three and a half miles. Distances on the plains are very deceiving. There are no intervening objects to assist the eye. So many hunters fail to kill because their bullets fall short of the game.

A few miles travel brings Scott's Bluff to view. This is a bluff that extends north from the main hill and its base is washed by the river. The road passes over it for two miles when we again reach the bottom. A man named Scott froze to death on this bluff in May, as early as 1840, perhaps earlier, and that is why it is called Scott's Bluff. It is fifty miles to Laramie from this bluff. Laramie Rock can be seen distinctly from this point when the atmosphere is in the right condition. By the road it is 115 miles west of Scott's Bluff.

Traveling twelve or fifteen miles down hill with the wagon wheels locked nearly all the way, we reach Horse Creek. This is a general camping ground, since the road and river have separated a considerable distance, the water of the creek being necessary for the stock.

This place is also notorious as the place where a party from Salt Lake were ambushed by a few young Indians who slipped away from the main band and sought revenge for losses sustained in the Ash Hollow fight which took place three months before.

Very early in the morning just after the party had left Horse Creek camp, the Indians fired upon the two ambulances and fled without knowing what damage they had inflicted. One in each vehicle was wounded, one in the arm, the other in the throat between the windpipe and the jugular vein. The party returned to Fort Laramie, about 35 miles distant and remained there some time. Those not wounded went east with a party of Californians. The wounded remained about a month before starting for the States with another party of twelve. I accompanied the party, riding in the

ambulance belonging to Mr. Kincaid, the gentleman who had been shot in the neck. He was not well yet. We avoided the place of the ambush by crossing Scott's Bluff by another road, in the night. Strange to say, when nearing the east side of the bluff near where the two roads converge, five shots were heard distinctly not far from us. We were all well armed and ready. The wounded man, with gun ready, remarked, "They may get me this time, I am unlucky." We increased our speed and were soon on the open ground in the bottom. I never learned who fired the shots, but concluded that travelers on the other road may have had occasion to shoot.

(To be continued.)



## PUBLIC OPINION AND THE INFLATION MOVEMENT IN MISSOURI, 1875-1879\*

BY J. A. LEACH

### CHAPTER I

#### THE BACKGROUND OF THE MOVEMENT

War usually produces industrial disorganization, financial exhaustion and social unrest. In the United States after the Civil War these effects were somewhat modified by several factors that made recovery less painful—the vast undeveloped natural resources, the large areas of unoccupied land, the settling of a question that had long vexed political life, and the awakening to the opportunities that the country afforded were certainly factors that would help to mitigate war's ill effects.<sup>1</sup>

This is not saying, of course, that the Civil War did not have unfortunate consequences. It would be difficult to estimate, for example, the loss due to the destruction of life, the loss due to the disabling of many other men in some way, thus reducing their effectiveness or making them a burden on society, and to the employment of such large numbers in enterprises that consumed wealth instead of producing it. Moreover, the destruction of property and the using up in war of capital that would otherwise have been used in a more beneficial sort of production, reduced the amount of capital available for use. Again, the operation of the debt incurred in the prosecution of the war had important economic and political effects.<sup>2</sup>

War, however, may also be said to stimulate productive enterprises. One needs only to remember the United States during the World War if he requires proof of this. It may be said that the Civil War did not stop those economic and

\*A reprint of part of the author's masters thesis submitted to and approved by the University of Missouri, 1923.

<sup>1</sup>Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*, Ch. 1.

<sup>2</sup>Wildman, *Money Inflation in the United States*, Part 2, Ch. 4.

industrial changes that were transforming the United States from a nation whose chief occupations were farming and small scale manufacturing to a highly organized industrial state. Indeed, the war probably aided the transformation in certain important respects. It showed that the United States was capable of big things. To illustrate it is only necessary to mention the matter of expenditures. The sums expended during the years of conflict exceeded by far the total amount of government expenditures up to the first year of the war. Such tremendous expansion as this would train men's imagination as well as their ability to deal with the more practical aspects of the situation. It would train men to deal with large units—an important consideration in view of the trend of business.

The war also stimulated production along the line of war necessities and this increased production had to be accomplished with a lessened labor supply. The policy of the government was to encourage this increased production not only because of immediate needs due to war but because it was desired to increase the amount of taxable wealth. The high war tariffs caused men of capital to invest their money in manufacturing. The state and national governments, by grants of land and credit, encouraged the building of railroads, the mileage of which was enormously increased, for the Civil War was one in which that means of transportation played a very important part.<sup>3</sup>

This industrialization of the United States, more obvious during the period after the war when it became more pronounced, had its inception before the conflict, and, as has been suggested, was accelerated rather than retarded by the war-time demands. These remarkable changes in industry, and commercial organization and the enormous expansion in railway construction, with their coincident effect on every phase of the life of the nation are phenomena that must be noted in order to understand better the movement for the inflation of the currency which is the purpose of this study.

A most significant fact in connection with the new industrialism was the fact that larger-scale production was the

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<sup>3</sup>Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*, Ch. 1.

new order of things. The invention and use of mechanical devices of all sorts made possible a largely increased production of manufactured goods with a much smaller number of laborers.<sup>4</sup> That this should be the natural order appears obvious enough now, but, just after the Civil War, times were not far removed from the period of home manufacture—certainly not far removed from the small-scale production that was carried on to a large extent by individuals or partnerships.

Another fact of great importance was that this larger scale production required new forms of commercial organization. Individual enterprise or partnerships seemed hardly the answer when big business began to develop. The fact that these larger units of production required large amounts of capital and that corporations should inevitably be formed seems apparent enough now. Other reasons for these new forms of commercial organization were: the economies that could be practiced in the administration of the business and the fact that much waste could be eliminated by the utilization of the entire material in product and by-product. This tendency in the direction of larger and larger accumulations of capital was beginning to be quite noticeable by the seventies.<sup>5</sup>

The effects of this larger scale production on the workers in the mechanical trades, while not of first importance in this study, yet needs to be mentioned. It is obvious that the employer was further removed from the employee and tended to think in terms of profits rather than about the condition of the employees. The domestic system of manufacturing had kept the workers in individual workshops or in their homes. The organization of the new industrialism required larger numbers to work in factories and this in turn required greater concentration of population in cities, resulting in the large increase of social problems. Moreover, another important result of the transformation in industry was the fact

<sup>4</sup>It does not seem essential to go into details on this point. Among the books useful here may be mentioned Wells, *Recent Economic Changes*, and Wright, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*.

<sup>5</sup>Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*, Ch. 1.

that many who had been independent producers were reduced to wage-earners, due to their inability to change to the large-scale production. These often furnished a radical discontented element.<sup>6</sup>

Since, however, the movement for inflation of the currency was largely an agrarian movement and since it was especially strong in that portion of the West of which Missouri was an integral part,<sup>7</sup> the reader's attention will now be called to the farming class of that region. The purpose of this study is not to prove that the farmers were the only class that suffered or even that the farmers as a class suffered more than other classes. The purpose here is merely to show that the conditions were ideal for the growth of unrest and discontent, and why it happened that: "For many years the agricultural population proved to be a hotbed of radical agitation."<sup>8</sup>

This is not a novel thing in American history. The frontier has always been a vital force in American history. The problems connected with conquering the frontier caused, from time to time, a re-birth of American society and a renewal of the spirit of American democracy. It must be remembered that in American history there has been not one frontier but that a succession of frontiers has developed as the population moved westward and that the rapid subjugation of the trans-Mississippi frontier—the one of interest in this study—created vexatious industrial and social problems, new in degree and form but problems that were as old as the frontier itself in kind.<sup>9</sup> In trying to solve these problems it was natural that, because they had no training in economics, their minds should turn to simple and plausible remedies to relieve their distresses and that their economic condition should lend almost a religious zeal to their convictions. A study of the successive frontiers of American history shows that the demand for a cheaper money by the western farmers was not a new phenomena. An undeveloped section always

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<sup>6</sup>Wildman, *Money Inflation in the United States*, Part 2, Ch. 4.

<sup>7</sup>Dewey, *Financial History of the United States*, p. 342.

<sup>8</sup>Schlesinger, *New Viewpoints in American History*, p. 255.

<sup>9</sup>Turner, *The Frontier in American History*.

has need for a considerable amount of capital. Thus the movement for the inflation of the currency was natural enough from the standpoint of the agricultural west.

That agriculture had its share of mechanical labor-saving devices may be pointed out. It is not necessary to go into detail here. The best example, perhaps, is in the improved machines for harvesting wheat. It will be sufficient to mention in succession the improved machines as the self rake, the harvester, the wire binder and the twine binder. The withdrawal of large numbers of men for war service made the necessity for such devices all the more apparent and practically compelled the farmer to forsake the old method for the new much more quickly than he would have done otherwise.

However, these inventions required the outlay of considerable amounts of capital. Each succeeding labor-saving implement cost much more than the implement that had to be scrapped and if the farmer had had to depend upon local markets there would have been little inducement to raise more extensive crops by means of the improved machines. But the improvements in transportation—both the largely increased railroad mileage and better equipped ocean vessels—brought the farmers' products into the world's markets.

This fact and the war demands had caused the price of agricultural products to rise relative to former prices. The fact that this rise was not sufficient to meet the rise in price of the products which the farmer had to buy will be taken up later.<sup>10</sup> The latter fact does not seem to have been at once evident to the farmer. The number of men taking up agriculture as a means of livelihood continued to increase after the war and during the decade that includes this study. A number of other facts conspired to make this true. The end of the war freed large numbers of men from army service. As has always been true in such cases there was trouble in making the readjustment. In many cases these men found their former employment gone. Many found it difficult to adjust themselves to their old communities and modes of living. The number of men to be absorbed again into produc-

<sup>10</sup>Emerick, *Agricultural Discontent*, in *Pol. Sci. Quar.* Vol. 12, p. 93ff.  
Mitchell, *History of the Greenbacks*, p. 388ff.

tive enterprises was increased by the closing of war industries and the increasing immigration.<sup>11</sup>

The United States had always (up to this time and later) had an answer to such economic questions. It was—"Go West. Grow up with the country. Become independent." And they did go West by the thousands. The Census reports tell the story—in figures—of the great increase in the population of the West and of the great increase in the number of farms during the two decades of 1860 to 1880.

But times had changed. The West was not the West in the old sense. It was no longer a self-sufficing, pioneer West. The farmer of the West was beginning to raise money crops and depended upon market and transportation facilities in a way that had not affected the pioneer of the past. The new industrialism had important consequences for the farmer. The way he earned his living, the comforts and luxuries he could enjoy, the conditions in which he lived, the trend of his thinking—all were intimately connected with the new developments.<sup>12</sup>

The factors that have been mentioned resulted in a great speeding up in agricultural production and prices began to fall. Authorities agree that the seventies were a part of the period of falling prices that extends into the nineties. It seems to be agreed also that, in general, the prices of agricultural products were lower than general prices.<sup>13</sup> This fact lessened the share of agriculture in the so-called boom times by acting to increase the cost of production to the farmer and so the prices of farm products ranged too low, relatively, to satisfy the western farmer.

True, the period up to 1873 has generally been described as a period of boom times and prosperity.<sup>14</sup> Characteristics

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<sup>11</sup>Hendrick, *The Age of Big Business*, Chap. 1 and Wildman, *Money Inflation in the United States*, Chap. 4.

<sup>12</sup>Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, p. 9ff.

<sup>13</sup>Among the authorities in support of this may be mentioned: Mitchell, *A History of the Greenbacks*; Buck, *Agrarian Crusade*; Voblen, *The Price of Wheat in 1867*, in the *Journal of Political Economy*, I, p. 68ff; Emerick, *Agricultural Discontent*, in *Polit. Sci. Quar.* Vol. 12, p. 93ff.

<sup>14</sup>Almost any financial or industrial history will show this. Good references here are: Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism*, and Wells, *Recent Economic Changes*.

of this period were: rise of prices, great apparent prosperity, large profits, high wages, large importations, a railway mania, expanded credit, over-trading, over-building, and the tendency to run into debt. There was a willingness to borrow on almost any terms and the confidence that the process need never stop. The fever affected states, cities, corporations, individuals. "The speculative period following the Civil War, moreover, had been scarcely equaled in our financial history."<sup>15</sup> The West shared in this era of speculation and expansion. Here the opportunity to amass a fortune or at least to become independent financially waited just around the corner for everybody.

Much of this prosperity, it would seem was not real. Take the case of the farmer, for example. The increase in the prices he obtained for his products did not keep pace with the increase in the prices of what he had to buy. Thus he was disappointed when he did not rise rapidly to a competence. In times of speculation men are not satisfied with slow methods of accumulation but the farmer found not only that he was not accumulating, but, that on the contrary, his interest charges and debts were becoming harder and harder to meet and might result in causing him to become saddled with debt, or to become a renter, or even to lose his holding. At least it prolonged the time required to rise to land ownership.

This aroused discontent all the more because it seemed that all classes were not similarly affected. The farmer saw that great fortunes were being made in various enterprises and the sources of these fortunes did not appeal to him as being right. In the recent past the basis of fortunes had been to a large extent land and the exploitation of raw materials, but by the seventies the quickest way to fortune was found to be in the combinations of the units of industry in order to secure the benefits and economies incident to larger-scale production or for monopolistic exploitation. Naturally, fortunes made in this way did not appeal to the masses as being the reward of productive enterprise and were viewed with alarm.<sup>16</sup> Thus there came to be a feeling on the part

<sup>15</sup>Laughlin, *History of Bimetallism*, p. 186.

<sup>16</sup>Hendrick, *Age of Big Business*, Chap. 1.

of the farmers that there was an unequal distribution of wealth and that the farmer was getting the worst of it. These Westerners felt that there ought to be a great deal in life for them and they did not hesitate to make known their disappointment over the trend of affairs.<sup>17</sup>

This resentment quite naturally was directed at the East. Men had not come to the West for free land because they had plenty of money to spend but because they lacked money. Settling on land that must be improved, the farmer had little coming in at a time when he must spend much for buildings, fencing, farm implements, living expenses, etc. Therefore he must borrow. The East as the older section had accumulated capital and became the creditor section. This caused these sections to have divergent views upon economic and financial questions which resulted in important political consequences.<sup>18</sup>

The new industrialism was giving the commercial and industrial classes an increased influence in the affairs of the nation. "Simple farming communities have awakened to find themselves complex industrial regions in which the farmers have frequently lost their former preferred position."<sup>19</sup> It probably would not have been stated in such terms by the farmer of the time. He probably did not see it so clearly as that, but he had a sort of intuitive feeling that all was not going right—that the farmer was losing out and not getting his share of the profits and not exercising the influence in politics that his importance demanded. While this was rather vague, it was logical enough. The United States was in a new age. The industrialization of the country was working far-reaching changes in the social and economic life of the people. It was this that the Westerner vaguely felt and it was this that caused him to try to define the new issues and to prescribe remedies for them.

The influence of the different factors that have been mentioned and the natural course of events following a

<sup>17</sup>Emerick, *Agricultural Discontent*, in *Pol. Sci. Quar.*, Vol. 12, p. 93ff.

<sup>18</sup>Maupin, *Farm Mortgages and the Small Farmer*, in *Pol. Sci. Quarterly*, Vol. 4, pp. 433-451.

<sup>19</sup>Buck, *Agrarian Crusade*, Introduction.



great war would be, doubtless, sufficient to cause the boom times and the slump that followed in the seventies. Another factor, however, running through and complicating the factors that have been mentioned was the paper currency that was issued during the Civil War.

This irredeemable paper money<sup>20</sup>—the greenbacks—was issued because of the financial straits of the government due to the war expenditures. The issue of this currency caused grave disturbance of established economic relations and affected in one way or another the economic circumstances of nearly every citizen. This paper money at once depreciated and caused the withdrawal of gold and silver from common use as money. This depreciation meant the rise of prices and helped to bring on the era of speculation that has been mentioned. The change in the scale of money payments did not affect all at once. At first it would benefit a debtor whose debt was contracted on a specie basis and would correspondingly injure the creditor. As time went on less business would be done on a long time credit basis and if deflation happened for any reason the position of debtor and creditor above described would be reversed.

Any farmer who owed money when inflation began would be benefitted to the extent that he could pay his debt with a smaller amount of his products but as his products in general rose in price less than the majority of other articles he would eventually lose on the whole transaction. By 1873, when the farmer found it difficult to realize on sales of produce, creditors began to insist upon payment of the debts and interest due them. This caused many foreclosures.<sup>21</sup> Economies had to be practiced, clothing had to be worn longer, less coffee and sugar could be used and cheaper qualities of material had to be used in every line where it was possible.<sup>22</sup> The extravagance of the newly rich made this all the more galling.

Although the contraction of the then existing volume of greenbacks had been stopped by a law of Congress in 1868,

<sup>20</sup>The authority here used for the statements about the greenbacks is Mitchell, *A History of the Greenbacks*.

<sup>21</sup>Buck, *Agrarian Crusade*, p. 21.

<sup>22</sup>Mitchell, *History of the Greenbacks*, p. 399.

conditions existing after that amounted to practical contraction because the largely increased volume of business made increased demands upon the currency in circulation. Moreover, much capital had been tied up in projects that did not at once produce returns. Then, too, taxes were many times higher.

These increased demands had to be met before the country had had time to recover from the effects of war. It seems probable that the taxable wealth of the people had scarcely reached the mark of 1860 by the year 1870.<sup>23</sup> These factors made themselves felt in the period of debt-paying which must always follow a period of debt-making and the former period is usually one of depression—not to say disaster.

In view of the conditions stated above the problem that was uppermost in the minds of the farmers was relief of some sort. Hard times were very real to them. As the period of depression lengthened into years, their financial condition became more and more hard to bear. Their property depreciated; their debts appreciated; their taxes were burdensome; prices continued to fall. In seeking a solution of their difficulties it was not strange that they should look to the government for aid. The war itself had accustomed them to look to the government in many ways and in the period after it the tendency was increased because of what the government had done for them by means of a liberal public land policy. The policy of the government was also to encourage the building of railroads by grants of land and credit, thus improving and increasing transportation facilities. They remembered, too, the abundant currency and the high prices of the war times and the boom times following the cessation of hostilities.

Besides this a number of facts that obtained in their own time seemed to point out government remedy for their ills. For example—prices were low, money was hard to borrow,

<sup>23</sup>Report of D. A. Wells, Special Commissioner of Revenue, House Ex. Doc. No. 16, 3rd Sess. 40th Cong. Also quoted in Wildman, *Money Inflation*, p. 121.

and, in effect, a contraction of the currency was in progress. As these facts were true at the same time it was assumed that the relation of cause and effect existed between them. Consequently, it appeared that the way to remedy matters was to inflate the currency and agitation for this took the form first of a demand for what may be called greenback inflation.

The movement for currency inflation was closely connected with the decline of prices. Prices rose almost continuously throughout the world from 1858 to 1873 but fell almost as continuously for a generation after the latter date. This movement of prices had great importance in the United States economically, socially, and politically.<sup>24</sup> The opinion was widespread that the decline in prices—especially of grain prices—was due to legislation on the currency. "Without for the present arguing that proposition, it may be affirmed with entire safety that a good share of the period's currency legislation has resulted from the decline in the price of grain."<sup>25</sup> The converse of the widespread opinion mentioned was nearer true, but the typical argument for the arbitrary increase of the silver or paper currency in almost every Congress since 1872 was the fall in prices, especially of wheat. It is significant also that the usual division of the vote in Congress upon this question was not political but geographical—"the commercial East against the agricultural West."

This doctrine of inflation, it has been said, "rose to the dignity of a political question through the congressional debate which followed almost immediately on the panic of 1873."<sup>26</sup> Since this debate had doubtless very important effects on public opinion in Missouri it is well to note here some facts in connection with it in order to better understand what may be called the doctrinal background of the inflation movement. Of course it can not be definitely stated what number of Missourians read the Congressional Record but Missouri Congressmen and Senators took part in the debate, Missouri newspapers were frequently quoting from men who took prominent parts in the discussion, and many

<sup>24</sup>Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance*, p. 5.

<sup>25</sup>Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance*, p. 5.

<sup>26</sup>Wildman, *Money Inflation in the United States*, p. 170.

of the arguments and statements appearing in the press of Missouri seem to show the influence of the Congressional debate.<sup>27</sup>

The political parties were divided on the question, a majority of both favoring inflation. The sentiment for inflation, however, was more nearly unanimous in the West and in the South. In the opinion of many taking part in the debate, the principal reason for the crisis was the "want of money." For example, Senator Boggy of Missouri speaking in the Senate on January 6, 1874, said: "The Senate and the country may see and understand how and why it is that, however hard our farmers and planters may work and toil, however genial and fruitful the season may have been, however plentiful and refreshing the rains may have fallen on the fruitful soil of the West and of the South, prosperity—for want of money—was and is today an impossibility."<sup>28</sup>

Moreover, the debate abounded in such expressions as "dearth," "famine," "grinding contraction," and "criminal contraction."

The government, it was urged, had the monopoly in the printing of currency business. It was declared also that the stamp of the government made money, and that the greenbacks couldn't depreciate.<sup>29</sup> Obviously then, the duty of the government was to issue more money and to further support this it was pointed out how prosperous the country had been under the paper money regime. The fact that the prosperity may have been due in part to borrowed wealth, was dis-

<sup>27</sup>Not having had the opportunity to read this material—for C. F. Adams, Jr., says it occupies 1,700 columns of the Congressional Record and is equal in volume to the twelve volumes of the works of Edmund Burke—the observations here made are based on an article entitled *The Currency Debate of 1873-74*, written by Mr. Adams for the *North American Review*, Vol. 119, pp. 111-166.

<sup>28</sup>Cong. Rec., No. 16, January 6, 1874, quoted by Adams in *The Currency Debate of 1873-74*, pp. 127, 128.

<sup>29</sup>The following argument by Field of Michigan on April 14, 1874, is too good to be omitted. He said that the "greenbacks can't be depreciated. They can't be below par for they are lawful money and must be at par. If it be true that they are 12 % below par today, then when the premium on gold was 50 % the greenbacks were 50 % below par and when gold was at 100 % premium, the greenbacks were worth nothing, and when gold was at 150 % premium, a poor man with \$10 in greenbacks in his pocket would have to pay \$5 to get them taken off his hands."

regarded. The inflationists believed that the chief cause of the prosperity was paper money.

The beliefs expressed in this debate later influenced public opinion in Missouri both on greenback inflation and silver inflation. The following quotation from a speech made in Congress March 31, 1874, by the member for the 13th Missouri district—Mr. Buckner—gives arguments that will be found in many articles to be quoted later. Mr. Buckner said:

We have doubled the indebtedness of the taxpayers of the country by agreeing to pay the 5-20 bonds in gold when they were contracted to be paid in greenbacks, but that does not satisfy the insatiate greed, the voracious appetite of the Shylocks and sharks, the bankers and brokers, the money-mongers and gold worshippers of the country. No, Sir, these lineal descendants and next of kin to the sordid and mercenary crew whom the Savior of the World when on earth whipped and scourged from the Temple at Jerusalem, must add to the intolerable debt of the people by bringing the price of everything down to the standard of gold and contracting the currency for the accomplishment of that sublimest of all follies in the present condition of the country—resumption of specie payments. The contracting policy of the government, inaugurated in the interest of capital and money, is unparalleled in the history of modern times for its wanton disregard of the rights of the taxpayers of the country—<sup>30</sup>.

Therefore this obnoxious class should be suppressed. How? They got their "unholy" gains by loaning money. Money was in demand because it was scarce. Then if an abundance of currency—and currency was money—were printed the occupation of the money-lender would be gone. Besides cheap money was needed for the agricultural and productive interests of the country—for the debt-burdened South and the debt-burdened West.

But they were not "inflationists"—they objected to that term—they were "moderate expansionists." On March 5, 1874, Senator Boggy said: "That this augmented issue would to some extent impair the profits of a certain class, I have no doubt; but this class is not the producing one. It consists of the money-lenders and capitalists in favor of high interest. That this amount of money would enable the West to engage

<sup>30</sup>Cong. Rec., No. 87, March 31, 1874, quoted by Adams in the *Currency Debate of 1873-74*, pp. 134, 135.

in new enterprises is to my mind as clear as any rule in arithmetic. To allow this people a sufficient amount of currency—although it may be an augmentation of present volume—is not inflation. I understand inflation to be an amount beyond the business wants of the country, but within the limits required by the needs of trade and commerce it is not inflation."<sup>31</sup>

Another argument for greenbacks that was used in this debate was the fact that the people loved them because they had fought the war and preserved the country from dismemberment. They were the "blood-sealed" greenbacks. Here was a chance for oratory and emotion that was not neglected. Many expressions will be found in the Missouri newspaper quotations to be given later that seem to show an emotional attachment to the greenback.<sup>32</sup>

This currency debate of 1873-74 and the social and economic conditions previously noted form the background for this study of the inflation movement in Missouri. Missouri obviously had been undergoing the same sort of experiences as the remainder of the West and these circumstances would favor the growth of sentiment for currency inflation.

<sup>31</sup>Cong. Rec., No. 65, March 5, 1874, quoted by Adams in *The Currency Debate of 1873-74*, p. 138.

<sup>32</sup>The following poetic outburst is given as an example. The quotation is from a speech made by Mr. Crittenden of the 7th Missouri district in the first session of the 45th Congress. (Cong. Rec. of 1877, Vol. 6, p. 485): "The greenbacks gave our people prosperity. They have upheld the honor of your country and your flag, at home and abroad. They fought the four bitter years of war and brought victory and union. They fed the soldier on the march. They paid him for the charge upon the field—for his suffering and death. They paid his widow and orphans and have been as sweet to them as the 'incense from Sheba and the sweet cane from a far country.' They have transacted all the private business between man and man, state and state, amounting to untold millions since the hour of their birth and they, in the forefront of civilization, have gone westward with the star of empire, with a heroic spirit opening up new territories, building millions of sweet homes, constructing railways across continents and elevating the stars and stripes on peaks and in valleys where no ensign of power had before greeted the morning sun or floated in the evening breeze. And in less than 13 years after their birth an order goes forth from the gilded saloons and sumptuous palaces of combined capitalists saying that this great friend of the people shall be destroyed; that it is too common for their pure hands; that it is a fraud and a lie; that it is lampblack and dirty linen; that it is a shame and a disgrace and no longer to be recognized. . . ."

Psychologically, the conditions were favorable for the agitation.<sup>33</sup> Here was a community of persons affected by a similar environment and, as the hard times developed after the crisis of 1873, this environment was not particularly pleasurable—that is to say it was far from being satisfactory. In such communities, political principles tend to be determined largely by the economic condition of the group. Then, too, the emotional element plays a large part because, as has been noted, a sense of privation and injustice develops. Under such conditions, also, the people tend to rely upon authority, that is to say, they listen readily to the opinions and statements made by public men and are convinced by them.<sup>34</sup> In this way certain standards and beliefs are developed and by these men and measures are judged.

In this study the popular interpretation placed upon certain economic evils is of chief interest. In this connection two points of view appear—the point of view of the investing or money-lending class and the point of view of those who were struggling to acquire property. The larger proportion of the citizens of Missouri belonged to the latter class. They were farmers and the conditions previously described were affecting the property interests of the farmer vitally. The first named class would desire to preserve the standard of money from depreciation. The second class, because to them the normal course of things seemed to be upset and because they were unable to change economic laws would appeal to the government to pass laws that would, in their judgment, bring about a more equal or a more just distribution of wealth. This would appeal to them as being no more than common justice.

These principles hold true for any debtor section but the discussion is placed here to emphasize their connection with Missouri, for, geographically speaking, Missouri was but a part of that agricultural section where the agitation for more money was very strong.

<sup>33</sup>The following discussion on the psychology of the movement follows Wildman, *Money Inflation in the U. S.*, Pt. I, Chaps. I and II. These psychological principles have held true for all our successive Wests, as the frontier moved across the country.

<sup>34</sup>The Congressional Debate, for example.

Missouri had been experiencing her part of the tremendous expansion that had been going on in the nation as a whole. The growth of her agricultural interests may be realized, when we note that in the decade 1860-1870 the population of the state increased 45.62 per cent, the number of farms more than 59 per cent, the number of improved acres more than 46 per cent, the cash value of the farms 70 per cent and the value of implements and machinery nearly 80 per cent.<sup>35</sup> This meant that the mania for speculation that has been spoken of extended to the agricultural class and that credit was unduly extended and that conditions were ripe for a crisis.

That Missouri was hard hit by the crisis of 1873 is indicated by a number of facts. In the decade 1870-1880 there was a slight decrease in the cash value of the farms as compared with the previous decade.<sup>36</sup> Governor Woodson recognized the situation and in his message to the General Assembly of 1874 mentioned the monetary crisis with its resulting disturbance and suggested retrenchment.<sup>37</sup> Another indication may be found in the delinquent tax lists printed in the various papers during the early seventies. The lists were long and the individual amounts were very small—the greater number being for amounts below \$10. This shows how difficult it was for the farmer to obtain money even in small amounts.<sup>38</sup> The newspapers insisted that the times were hard but not, of course, by giving specific instances. They were not concerned with proving that times were hard—that was known by everyone affected. Their chief concern was the remedies that they thought would relieve the situation and it was in this connection that their insistence that times were hard may be noted.

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<sup>35</sup>Figures obtained by comparing the Census of 1860 with the Census of 1870.

<sup>36</sup>There was an increase in the other items mentioned, though not so great as in 1860-70. The value of the comparison between the cash value as shown by the different census reports is decreased—though perhaps not completely lost—by the fact that the price level was not constant.

<sup>37</sup>Jefferson City *Peoples' Tribune*, January 7, 1874.

<sup>38</sup>Examples that may be mentioned here are the Cole county lists appearing in the Jefferson City *Peoples' Tribune* of June 22, 1874, July 1, 1875, and July 1, 1876.



The remedy suggested was that money, which measured the farmer's income as well as his debts should be increased. The two phases of this sentiment for inflation—the belief that greater use of the greenbacks was desirable and the belief that silver should be used more extensively—will be discussed in the chapters to follow.

## CHAPTER II

### PUBLIC OPINION AND GREENBACK INFLATION

The agitation for greenback inflation arose after the war. The legal tender currency had been issued as a war necessity and had reached its maximum amount before the war closed, but there was no greenback party and there was no demand for a permanent currency consisting of irredeemable government paper. Those who introduced the currency bills into Congress and worked for their passage never considered the greenback as anything but a temporary measure.<sup>1</sup> The first financial resolution adopted by Congress in December, 1865 was an explicit promise to retire the legal tenders and was passed to show approval of the desire of the Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. McCullough, to accomplish that end.

That the contraction of the currency and the resumption of specie payments were proper measures was the judgment of nearly all Congressmen was revealed by the vote—144 to 6.<sup>2</sup> This marked the height of the movement for the politicians began to consider how the contraction policy would be received by the producers, so in the spring of 1866 legislation was passed limiting the amounts of greenbacks that could be retired. This limited deflation, though declared by Secretary McCullough to be ineffective,<sup>3</sup> might have brought the country within reach of the resumption of specie payments but events outside the United States caused opposition to the Secretary's policy. A crisis in foreign money markets put a heavy burden on the American markets and the blame was laid on the at-

<sup>1</sup>Statements based on Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance*; Mitchell, *History of the Legal Tender Acts*; Wildman, *Money Inflation in the U. S.*

<sup>2</sup>Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance*, p. 9; Mitchell, *History of the Legal Tender Acts*, p. 128; *Cong. Globe*, 39th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 75.

<sup>3</sup>*Treasurer's Report*, 1866, pp. 8, 9.

tempt to reduce the outstanding notes. Politicians trimmed their sails accordingly and an act was passed (January 22, 1868) revoking the Secretary's power of contraction.<sup>4</sup> This successful attack upon the policy of contraction was the "real foundation for the Greenback movement that reached such startling proportions in the depression which followed the panic of 1873."<sup>5</sup>

Up to this time there was no Greenback Party. There was no clean-cut division on the greenback issue between the two old parties. The alignment was by class and section rather than by party.<sup>6</sup> The failure of either the Democrats or the Republicans to take a decided stand on the inflation question or on the policy as to whether the bonds should be redeemed in gold or in lawful money, as the greenbacks were sometimes called, resulted in the formation of a third-party movement. Laboring men in the East had formed a National Labor Union in 1868. This movement resulted in a National Labor Party convention at Columbus in February, 1872. This body declared in favor of inflation and proposed that money be issued only by the government and in the form of legal-tender paper, redeemable only with bonds bearing a low rate of interest. These bonds were to be convertible into greenbacks at the option of the holder. The Convention nominated David Davis for President. When the Liberal Republicans put a ticket into the field Davis refused to run and no other nomination was made. The objects of this Labor Party were to lower the rate of interest and reduce taxation by funding the war debt into interconvertible bonds.

On the other hand the farmers were interested in the expansion of the currency because they thought it would cause higher prices for their products but it was only after the panic of 1873 had intensified the agricultural depression that the Western farmers took up greenbackism. In Novem-

<sup>4</sup>Noyes, *Thirty Years of American Finance*, p. 11ff, and *Cong. Globe*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., 1867-68, p. 986.

<sup>5</sup>Widman, *Money Inflation in the United States*, p. 159.

<sup>6</sup>The authority for this statement and the brief account of the Greenback Party that follows is, Buck, *The Agrarian Crusade*, Chap. 6. It is true that the Democratic Platform of 1868 declared for the payment of debts, not otherwise specified, in lawful money and for one currency for both debtor and creditor but nominated Seymour, who rejected the plank.

ber, 1874, delegates from seven states met in Indianapolis and formed a National Greenback Party. A national convention was called to meet in Cleveland in March, 1875. This meeting issued a call for a nominating convention which met in Indianapolis, May 17, 1876, and nominated Peter Cooper for President.

The movement made slow progress. It lacked organization and financial backing and polled less than one per cent of the total vote. The movement was given a fresh impetus in 1877 because that year was a year of exceptional unrest and discontent. Agriculture suffered a greater depression and the railroad strike of that year agitated the country. The fact that the time for resumption was approaching was another reason for the renewed life of the movement in 1877 and 1878. There would be little hope of doing anything more for the greenback currency after January 1, 1879. A convention at Toledo in February, 1878, adopted the name "National" and passed resolutions that became known as the Toledo Platform. These resolutions denounced the limiting of the legal tender currency, the changing of the currency bonds into coin bonds, the demonetization of silver, the exempting of bonds from taxation, contraction of the currency, the resumption of specie payment and the waste of public land. They demanded that the bank notes be suppressed, that the government alone should issue money that should be full legal tender and "in sufficient quantity," that silver should be coined on the same terms as gold, that public lands be reserved for actual settlers, that hours of labor should be reduced, that labor bureaus be established, that there should be no contract prison labor, that Chinese labor be excluded. They denounced the silver bill that had just been passed because it limited the amount to be coined and declared against fusion with the older parties. This year (1878) was the high water mark of the movement. Over a million votes were cast for Greenback candidates. Two-thirds of their strength was in the middle west and one-third in the East. The Eastern strength was largely agrarian also.<sup>7</sup> In the next presidential year

<sup>7</sup>An example of this was the State Chairman of Maine, Solon Chase of "them steers" fame. He said, "Inflate the currency and you raise the price of my steers and at the same time pay the public debt."

(1880) their strength dwindled to 308,578 and in 1884 their vote was 175,370.

The conditions in Missouri, as has been shown, both prior to 1870 and during the early seventies were such that the demand for an inflated currency might be expected to have many adherents. The question did receive a great deal of attention if one may judge by the amount of comment appearing in the newspapers of the state.

Before deciding what light is thrown on public opinion in Missouri regarding inflation by these newspaper comments it is well to have some general considerations in mind. In the first place it is obvious that clear-cut financial theories should not be expected. It is probable that very few of the editors to be quoted had any considerable training along the line of monetary theory. Consequently, considerable confusion and much inconsistency can be reasonably expected. This is not without reasonable explanation. They were facing the conditions noted in the introductory chapter and it has always proven difficult to evaluate conditions when in the midst of them.

To reduce to some semblance of order, then, the jumble of discussion on the hard times and their cause, on contraction, inflation by means of greenbacks or silver, debtor class, creditor class, party politics, and so on is a task not without difficulties. It is the purpose here to postpone the discussion of public opinion on the greenback currency considered mainly in connection with its influence on party politics and the discussion of silver inflation to later chapters and to present in this chapter the movement for greenback inflation considered from the standpoint of its influence on the relief for the hard times. This attempt at division will not be completely successful but will be useful for the purpose of this study.

Considering the Congressional debate of 1873-74 referred to above, it is not strange that the scarcity-of-money idea should have received a great deal of attention. The arguments in many of the quotations that follow will be found to be the same as the arguments used in the debate referred to.

In this connection three viewpoints in regard to the greenback currency need to be noted. One viewpoint was that the greenbacks were here and it would be an injustice to contract them. It was urged by this group that the existing volume of greenbacks should be retained. Another group thought of themselves as "moderate expansionists," believing that an increase in the circulating medium would prove beneficial. The amount of increase advocated by this second group did not go far enough to satisfy a third group, who may be called the extreme fiat-money group. This group desired that unlimited amounts of paper money be issued by the government.

The preponderance of material used in this study favored either the first or the second viewpoint mentioned. Those holding the third or extreme fiat-money viewpoint did not become numerous enough to make their party dangerous so far as carrying the State was concerned. Their number was far too small for that. Their chief influence seems to have been to modify the doctrines of the Democratic party. That question will be discussed under the party aspect of the movement.

Typical of the first, or anti-deflation, viewpoint was an interview of Senator Cockrell appearing in the *Warrensburg Journal*.<sup>8</sup> The Senator said that he favored the old Democratic doctrine of hard money but continued that the "Republicans have foisted paper currency upon us and further contraction now would be ruinous to the great West." The idea that the Senator had in mind was probably the same as that appearing in the *Tribune*, October 6, 1875. The *Tribune* printed exchanges from Indiana and Pennsylvania to show that there was "a tendency in Republican circles to favor the greenback notion." Some were not for inflation in its "true sense" but were opposed to contraction in times of financial distress, for, "to expand the volume of currency when people are incurring debts and to rapidly contract it when the time of payment comes will prove ruinous to every business enterprise." This belief had not changed two years later as is shown by the money plank of the Ohio Democratic platform

<sup>8</sup>Quoted in *Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune*, October 13, 1875.

of 1877, which was used as an argument in Missouri.<sup>9</sup> It declared that, "We favor the retention of the greenback currency as the best paper money we have ever had and declare against further contraction."<sup>10</sup> There was no disposition shown at any time to favor the policy of contraction with the exception of the St. Louis *Republican* whose reasons will be taken up under another heading.

There was some sentiment for an actual increase in the volume of currency but this sentiment did not extend to the belief in extreme fiat-money inflation as has been noted. This may be shown by examining some of the editorials that discussed this phase of the question. A direct mention of inflation is found in an article in the Sedalia *Daily Bazoo*.<sup>11</sup> The editor was discussing the election in Ohio<sup>12</sup> and said the tug of war is in Ohio. The editorial continued:

Hard money or inflation is the issue, and should Allen, the Democratic nominee, be elected, a tidal wave in favor of more money, such as has never been witnessed, will sweep the country from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from the pines of the North to the orange groves of the South. Our hopes are strong in favor of Allen and inflation.

It will be seen later that the *Bazoo* did not have in mind the issue of an unlimited volume of greenbacks, but what the amount needed was or where or how it was to be obtained was not worked out. One of the few instances where any attempt at estimating the amount needed is found in an article in the Boonville *Advertiser*, which was of the opinion that our needs "require a safe, sound, reliable circulation in excess of all gold, silver and greenbacks the government can (*sic*) furnish, amounting to not less than five hundred million dollars."<sup>13</sup>

Therefore, the *Advertiser* was opposed to the too rapid retirement of the greenbacks and favored the increase of the safest and best circulation for the masses that human government could invent. This sentiment that more money was

<sup>9</sup>Ohio was a fruitful source of material for Missouri editors. The situation in Ohio was always closely watched.

<sup>10</sup>Quoted in Jefferson City *Peoples' Tribune*, August 1, 1877.

<sup>11</sup>Issue of October 12, 1875.

<sup>12</sup>Held in October.

<sup>13</sup>Quoted in the Sedalia *Daily Bazoo*, August 27, 1877.

needed persisted to the end of the period being studied. On January 7, 1878, the *Bazoo* said that "There must be more money put into circulation," and while the agitation subsided somewhat in 1878 and 1879 the belief persisted.

But the belief that more money was needed did not mean that an unlimited amount of paper money was desired. The *St. Louis Republican* pointed out the danger of paper money when it said,

The real crime of the Republicans was in expanding the currency—in driving gold and silver out of circulation and issuing immense amounts of paper money in its place. That act added \$1,500,000,000 to the national debt by adding 50% to war expenditures and 20% to all expenditures since the war.<sup>14</sup>

The *Republican* continued its attack on paper money by showing what it was costing the people at the time, saying,<sup>15</sup>

When gold is quoted at 17% premium, the ordinary citizen passes over it as a thing not concerning him. Greenbacks, if he can get enough, are good enough for him. But he should reflect that the importer must pay for the goods, pay the tariff, freight, etc., all in gold and that he adds to the existing premium to be safe so that the farmer in Missouri pays a very high premium before he gets the goods. Another bad result of depreciated currency is that much capital is used in speculation in gold that should be used for legitimate enterprises. This explains what puzzles the farming class so much—that our paper money, though so abundant, should be dear, the interest rate high, and money hard to get for legitimate enterprises. This is part of the cost of an inconvertible paper money.

Moreover, the *Bazoo*, which seemed to favor inflation, if judged from quotations already given, made it plain that it did not mean extreme fiat-money inflation. Speaking of the Bankers' Convention held in New York in the fall of 1877, it was stated that "They did not declare for an unlimited supply of greenbacks and in this we are persuaded that they did a good thing."<sup>16</sup> Two other editorials appearing in the *Bazoo* should be presented here not only because they condemn the fiat-money aspect of the greenbacks but also because they indicate a very significant trend in the development of the inflation movement in Missouri—the belief in silver.

<sup>14</sup>June 19, 1875.

<sup>15</sup>*St. Louis Republican*, February 7, 1876.

<sup>16</sup>*Sedalla Daily Bazoo*, October 1, 1877.

The *Bazoo* editor was commenting on the Greenback Convention held in St. Louis. He said it was a combination of

rant, cant, and imbecility . . . There is no more folly in demanding that the government shall regulate the price of wages and supervise the relations between the employer and the employed than in the kindred insanity which teachers that the purchasing power of a greenback will not be diminished by doubling the volume of currency.

As Mrs. Partington couldn't understand why eggs were high when scarce so the Greenbacker can't

appreciate the fact that it has been the contraction of the volume of the greenback currency that makes its purchasing faculty equal to a dollar. It requires something, of more intrinsic value than a piece of paper, although it wears the stamp of the government, to maintain its relations as an equivalent in trade. There is needed a power at the back of it which can convert it into money, in the sense that gold and silver are money, whenever the interests of commerce demands it . . . The country is therefore looking for a currency that will not lessen in value as its volume is increased, which is worth as much in Europe as an article of commerce as it is here as money, which is not liable to fluctuate with the rise and fall of parties which will secure to the products and industries of the country that which is vital to their prosperity—settled values. It is, however, a mistaken impression which supposes that with the advent of silver paper money will be no longer valuable—It will always be indispensable to commerce . . . but its volume will be diminished to the absolute needs of exchange . . . The St. Louis Greenback Convention is right in supposing that the government has just as much right to supervise labor as it has to create value.<sup>17</sup>

A year later the *Bazoo* again pointed out the evils of a currency established on a false basis by quoting from the *New York Sun* of October 22. This article discussed the disastrous effect of an irresponsible, unredeemable paper currency. The example given was that of the French assignats and said that "if the blow had fallen upon the artificers of the huge fraud" well and good "but it crushed the firesides of labor and spread misery among those least able to bear it." Soon the bulk of the paper was in the hands of the working class and of men of small means who could not invest in stores of goods and in national lands, while financiers

<sup>17</sup>*Sedalla Daily Bazoo*, October 1, 1877.



and men of large means invested in objects of permanent value. Hence, the burden fell on those the least able to bear it. At least this money was backed by the lands of the crown and church, while our advocates of fiat-money, would

flood the country with paper, reject gold, silver, lands, everything and expect to create money, by acts of Congress, with a printing press and paper as the only representatives of value. Whoever proposes to establish a false basis for the currency not known to the Constitution is an enemy to public prosperity.<sup>18</sup>

The two viewpoints<sup>19</sup> that have been discussed in the preceding pages—the belief that further deflation should be stopped and the belief in a “moderate expansion” of the currency—were, perhaps, not so far apart, so far as Missourians were concerned, as might appear at first glance. There was no evidence in the material examined that those discussing the questions had any realization of the difference. Indeed, it seems probable that the consensus of opinion favored a moderate increase in the volume of the currency.

To show this it will be necessary to examine our sources to find what public opinion was on topics directly related to the viewpoints mentioned. The topics around which the discussion seemed to center were: the need for money in conducting the business of the country, the resumption of specie payments, and what may be called the crime of 1869, that is to say, the injustice of making debts contracted on a green-back basis payable in gold. Since these questions were being discussed simultaneously they will be taken up in the order mentioned.

In a speech in the United States Senate January 6, 1876, Senator Bogy gave as his reason for opposing contraction the fact that all the currency was needed to make “exchanges.”<sup>20</sup> Likewise the *Bazoo*,<sup>21</sup> referring to the fact that the

<sup>18</sup>*Sedalia Daily Bazoo*, October 24, 1878.

<sup>19</sup>The third viewpoint mentioned—the extreme fiat-money viewpoint—is not discussed here because none of the newspaper material examined supported that view. The discussion of this viewpoint will be found in the section on party politics.

<sup>20</sup>Cong. Rec., 1876, Vol. 4, Pt. 1, p. 283ff. By “Exchanges” was meant business transactions.

<sup>21</sup>*Sedalia Daily Bazoo*, August 28, 1877.

Boonville *Advertiser* advocated five hundred million additional currency, declared that the government should

issue a circulating medium equal to the wants of the country, making it legal tender and it and the coin interconvertible at par. This will supply the deficiency noted by the *Advertiser* . . . It will start the wheels of industry, render available our vast national resources, giving to enterprise its life, and lift from labor the heavy burdens which oppress it.

Another reason showing that more currency was needed to conduct the business of the country was given by the *Tribune* when it recorded the fact that some of the "Eastern papers speak of the fear that there is insufficient currency to move the crops and that some hard money resumptionists think some inflation would not be amiss."<sup>22</sup> The *Bazoo* said that

There must be more money put into circulation—industrial and commercial enterprises must be relieved as far as possible . . . everything must be done to develop the resources of the country and give employment to the inhabitants thereof.<sup>23</sup>

Exchanges<sup>24</sup> from the *Sullivan Standard*, *St. Louis Times*, *Worth County Times*, *Chillicothe Crisis* and the *Carthage Patriot* emphasized the same point.

The *Sedalia Weekly Times*<sup>25</sup> of June 27, 1878, was quite as sure as the *Bazoo* and *Tribune* that business conditions required that no further deflation be allowed. It said,

Congress has adjourned having done a few good things in reference to the currency, solely in response to the demands of the people . . . The Fort Bill forbids any further contraction of the greenback currency and leaves us with the best currency the country has ever seen as the redeeming feature of our hard times. It settles the question as to the future of business in this country. An era of great business activity is immediately before us . . . The currency which the business community has been

<sup>22</sup>Jefferson City *Peoples' Tribune*, September 26, 1877.

<sup>23</sup>*Sedalia Daily Bazoo*, January 7, 1878.

<sup>24</sup>Quoted in *Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune*, January 16, 1878, and April 24, 1878. Additional material on this point may be found in the *Sedalia Weekly Times*, December 16, 1875, the *Sedalia Daily Bazoo*, September 21, and November 1, 1877, the *Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune*, June 23, 1875, May 30, and August 15, 1877, August 21, October 2, November, 1878, March 5, 1879.

<sup>25</sup>The *Times* was Republican in politics.

afraid to use for fear of a falling market will now be used to the utmost and poured into every channel of trade.<sup>26</sup>

The St. Louis *Republican* was a notable exception to the general opinion on the needs of business. It admitted that large numbers of people were affected by a scarcity of money but gave as the reason the fact that wealth was not properly distributed and gave as an example of faulty distribution the fact that corn had recently been ten cents per bushel in Iowa and Kansas and sixty-five in New England and the article concluded by saying,

If a man wants more money he must give produce for it, this is the only way. It is a mistake to think the government printing press can do it. The laws of supply and demand must do it.<sup>27</sup>

Two years later<sup>28</sup> a like idea was expressed as follows:

Dull times are not caused by the scarcity of money. The opposite is true. Money is loaning at low rates in New York but at high rates in Texas. Texas can get more money by buying it—by selling something for money. If one has nothing to sell, doubling the quantity of money will not do good.

Whatever may be said of the reasoning of these two editorials, it is certain that they did not harmonize altogether with the opinion expressed by the other papers that have been quoted. Giving more produce for money at the prevailing prices was just what was objected to by the farmers. It is probable that the *Republican* was expressing the views of the business or the moneyed interests. These editorials are the only instances found in this study where there seemed to be a clash between the interests of the big city and the agrarian interests.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>26</sup>Other material emphasizing that "confidence" was needed may be found in the St. Louis *Republican*, October 22, 1875; the Sedalia *Daily Basco*, May 1, June 6, July 31, and August 1, 1877; the Jefferson City *Peoples' Tribune*, July 4, July 10, July 25, August 1, and September 12, 1877, and January 16, February 20 and July 3, 1878.

<sup>27</sup>St. Louis *Republican*, July 10, 1875.

<sup>28</sup>St. Louis *Republican*, June 9, 1877.

<sup>29</sup>Harder to explain is the article that appeared in the Lexington *Register*. This paper thought that there was no scarcity of money—that there was more money than was needed. All that was needed was to get the capital we then had in use. This is the only instance found in the material examined of a small-town paper taking such a stand. It is certainly contrary to the general consensus of opinion. This article was quoted in the Sedalia *Weekly Times*, January 11, 1878.

Another angle to the question of the need of more money for the business exchanges of the country was supplied by the *St. Louis Republican*. It admitted that an increase in the volume of the currency would enable the existing debtors to get out of debt more easily but pointed out a second effect, which showed that the *Republican* was aware of the train of events that led to the conditions then affecting the country. The article concludes that the next result, usually overlooked, would be an universal running into debt again. Facts of the past proved this. At the close of the war (1865) Secretary McCulloch stated in his report that people were comparatively free from debt, and, with the exception of the effect of the national debt, in an easy condition. But then the business of contracting debts began. From 1865 to 1873 the enormous debts of the South were contracted, thousands of miles of non-paying railways were built, the counties of Missouri issued \$20,000,000 bonds they now find so hard to pay, cities vied in public improvements, individuals mortgaged their property. . . . A similar experiment would do the same. There would be a period of debt paying and then a period of debt making.<sup>30</sup> This view was apparently not considered by the majority of Missourians, for men do not ordinarily look so far ahead. What they were interested in was immediate relief and they were willing to take chances on what might follow.

It is obvious that, with the exception of the *St. Louis Republican* and *Lexington Register*, opinion in Missouri was that more money was needed in order to conduct the business of the country. The *Republican* wavered a time or two when it admitted that there was a stringency in so far as many individuals were concerned. Later the *Republican* will be found advocating more silver money so its stand need not be further discussed here.

In regard to the second question noted above—resumption—public opinion so far as revealed by this study, was decidedly against it, if we except the *Republican* again. The latter paper, however, was not as pronounced in its opinions

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<sup>30</sup>*St. Louis Republican*, September 30, 1875.

as it was in regard to the question first discussed, namely, that more money was needed to conduct the business of the country.

Resumption, it was assumed, must result in contraction. Resumption meant that every paper dollar must be replaced by a metallic one. As the country was already short of money and as the destruction of the redeemed greenbacks would be contraction to the extent of the amount redeemed, it was urged that resumption meant national bankruptcy. On June 19, 1875, the *Republican* said that the Republican Party expanded the currency before contracting it, and, in contracting it, they were only seeking to repair their blunder and get back to the conditions from which they started. This would seem to favor resumption by contraction. It did not, however, think that much effort would be needed to reach resumption if the favorable trade balances of 1874 and 1875 continued.<sup>31</sup> In its issue of February 12, 1876, the *Republican* showed some signs of coming over to the view that was more generally held in Missouri, when, in speaking of the financial planks in the Democratic platform, it said

There is no inflation party since the Ohio defeat last year but some Democrats think 1879 is too soon to bring about resumption. It is better for business to get it done but perhaps some concession should be made to the debtor class upon whom the brunt will fall.

The *Republican*, too, feared that there was not enough coin to accomplish resumption and that contraction would have to be used to accomplish it. The matter could be managed, however, by redeeming greenbacks with bonds and thus a smaller amount of gold would be required. It was the general opinion that the method being used by the government to reach specie payment under the Resumption Act of 1875 was contraction. The *Tribune*<sup>32</sup> quoted Judge Kelly of

<sup>31</sup>Issue of September 22, 1875. The effect of foreign trade on the question of resumption was discussed also in the *Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune*, December 15, 1875, and the *St. Louis Republican*, February 6, 1877.

<sup>32</sup>*Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune*, June 23, 1875. The idea that conditions weren't propitious for attempting to reach resumption at the time set and that, therefore, the Resumption Act should be repealed was supported also in the following issues: *The Sedalia Weekly Times*, February 24, and March 9, 1876; the *Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune*, October 24, and November 7, 1877, and April 24 and July 10, 1878; the *Sedalia Daily Bazoo*, August 30, September 12, September 26, October 10, November 1, and November 2, 1877.

Pennsylvania as saying that the United States Treasury was insolvent due, partly at least, to the attempt to reach resumption by contracting the currency and the *St. Louis Times* exclaimed,

Is it specie payment you want? . . . Let's make greenbacks legal tender for all debts . . . Let's have specie payment but let the greenback be used as the agent of the result instead of contraction.<sup>33</sup>

The idea here seemed to be that, if the greenbacks were made full legal tender they would at once be at par with gold and nothing more would be necessary. The fact that seemed to settle the matter was that there was not enough coin with which to resume. Resumption would be desirable when the conditions of the country justified it but at the time it was suicide to attempt it. There were two methods that could be used to attain resumption—it could be done by using the greenbacks, which was not altogether satisfactory, or by means of contracting the greenback currency, a method that was altogether unsatisfactory to Missourians. Early in 1876 Senator Boggy<sup>34</sup> was urging that resumption could not be accomplished at the date set because not enough gold could be provided. He declared that if gold were brought here it would not stay "unless there were reasons of a financial character based upon great commercial facts" and the Senator was opposed to the use of contraction as the method of securing resumption. The *Sedalia Times*<sup>35</sup> was of like mind, thinking that the gold standard could not be reached while gold was in such demand and so much had to be sent to Europe to meet the interest on the national debt and the *Bazoo* gave as its remedy for the hard times "repeal resumption, restore the silver dollar, stop ruinous and suicidal contraction."<sup>36</sup> Indeed, "resumption by contraction" was made the

<sup>33</sup>Quoted in *Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune*, October 6, 1875.

<sup>34</sup>*Cong. Rec.*, 1876, Vol. 4, Pt. I, p. 283ff.

<sup>35</sup>*Sedalia Weekly Times*, May 25, 1876. That the country had not the amount of coin needed for resumption was emphasized in the *Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune* of February 27, May 30, and June 20, 1877 and December 4, 1878; and in the *Sedalia Daily Bazoo* of March 6 and August 27, 1877.

<sup>36</sup>*Sedalia Daily Bazoo*, August 28, 1877. The idea that resumption meant contraction and contraction meant bankruptcy found support in the *Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune* of June 23, 1875, August 1, August 8, September 26, November 28, 1877, and July 3 and August 21, 1878; and in the *Sedalia Daily Bazoo* of June 26 and August 1, 1877.

scapegoat for every condition that was bad. Mr. Buckner,<sup>37</sup> of the thirteenth Missouri district, in a speech in Congress on November 16, 1877, laid the following list of crimes at the door of "resumption by contraction": "increase of bankruptcy," "shrinkage of values," "depression in business," "paralysis of trade and commerce," "despondency and dissatisfaction of the laboring population," "the discontent of the agricultural classes," and "the growth of crime and civil commotion approximating to the very verge of social anarchy."

No Missouri editor accused resumption of such a list of crimes in any one issue but they followed the lead fairly well. For example, the *Missouri Statesman* said that "enforcement of resumption is national bankruptcy,"<sup>38</sup> and in the same issue quoted approvingly from a speech of Senator Beck of Kentucky delivered at Macon, Missouri, in which the Senator declared for the unconditional repeal of the resumption law. Likewise the *Tribune* predicted that by January 1, 1879, Sherman's policy would lead to bankruptcy and then to financial and social anarchy,<sup>39</sup> and quoted Senator Wallace as saying that the railroad strikes were caused by the attempt to return to specie payments. These ideas were concurred in by many other papers as the *Sullivan Standard*, *St. Louis Times*, *Worth County Times*, *Chillicothe Crisis*, and the *Carthage Patriot*.<sup>40</sup>

By the end of the year, however, the agitation for the repeal of the Resumption Act was rapidly dying out. The evils predicted had not materialized, prosperity was returning, it was doubtful if a repeal bill could be passed over the President's veto, and there was some comfort in the fact that resumption, even if it worked, would be quite different from the sort that it was thought the "gold bugs" desired. For although resumption on the first of January, 1879, was a fixed fact the gold bugs would not be so pleased after all, for their plan was to retire the greenbacks as fast as redeemed and to exclude silver entirely so that gold in the hands of the

<sup>37</sup>*Cong. Rec.*, 45th Cong., 1st Sess. Vol. 6, p. 465.

<sup>38</sup>*Columbia Missouri Statesman*, August 24, 1877.

<sup>39</sup>*Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune*, August 8, 1877.

<sup>40</sup>*Jefferson City Peoples' Tribune*, January 16, 1878, and April 24, 1878.

few might be made the source of immense profits. Remonetization of silver was a damper on their plans and the law requiring the Secretary of the Treasury not to cancel the greenbacks but to reissue them was another complication they did not foresee. Their dreams of a single gold standard have vanished and resumption will be very different from planned.<sup>41</sup> With the exception of the Greenbackers, public opinion in Missouri acquiesced in the fact of resumption. Their reasons for opposing it at the date set had been the belief that there was not gold enough to accomplish it and that contracting the currency in order to reach it was the cause of all the ills to which they had fallen heir. Because of returning prosperity and the partial success of silver, agitation for the repeal of the law died away.

The crime of 1869 occupied some attention in the greenback discussion, though more was said about it when the silver question was under discussion. The injustice of making currency bonds payable in gold was patent to all. For example, the St. Louis *Republican* said "the Republican Party ought to be held responsible for its crime of forcing the people to pay in gold debts contracted in paper,"<sup>42</sup> while the *Bazoo* spoke of the "stupendous wrong perpetrated on the country in 1869" and continued,

This outrage . . . conceived and executed by a Republican Congress, lost to the people several hundred millions . . . The 5-20 bonds amounting to \$1,700,000,000, which, up to 1868, were declared payable in greenbacks by every Republican leader, lost to the people by this conversion over five hundred millions.<sup>43</sup>

It was in this connection that class antagonism was often expressed. The *Tribune* thought that

The government was run solely in the interest of the railroad com-

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<sup>41</sup>Jefferson City *Peoples' Tribune*, December 18, 1878.

<sup>42</sup>Issue of June 19, 1875. This idea of making currency bonds payable in gold was expressed also in the Sedalia *Daily Bazoo* of September 26, 1877, and the Jefferson City *Peoples' Tribune* of May 30, and November 28, 1877, and July 3, July 10, and July 17, 1878.

<sup>43</sup>Sedalia *Daily Bazoo*, August 28, 1877. Additional material on the amount in the St. Louis *Republican*, October 18, 1875, and the Columbia *Missouri Statesman* of August 31, 1877.



panies, bondholders, and gold gamblers. In fact, the gold gamblers govern the Treasury Department.<sup>44</sup>

and the St. Louis *Journal*<sup>45</sup> declared that the gold standard advocates saw only one interest entitled to consideration—the bondholders—and said everyone yelled “repudiation” if it was suggested to pay the national debt, principal and interest, in greenbacks.

Differing from the general run of public opinion as expressed by the press was an article in the *Sedalia Weekly Times* of January 31, 1878. This article—entitled “Who Owns the Bonds”—was a comment on a speech made in Congress by Garfield in defense of the Resumption Act in which it was asserted that not all the bondholders were of the “bloated” variety. It was asserted that many bonds were held by widows and orphans, by laborers, mechanics, clerks, small traders, and professional men of small means. Thus the cry against “bondholders” was agitation against such classes as those just mentioned. This was only a slight change of front for the *Times*. It was probably an indication that the Republican press of Missouri was beginning to listen to their national leaders. As was the case in regard to resumption, the crime of 1869 ceased to command much attention in the latter part of 1878 and in 1879.

It has been shown that conditions in Missouri were such that a movement for an inflated currency might be expected to gain the approval of a large part of the population but some of the material presented in this section would seem to be opposed to inflation. In fact, it is obvious that there was much confusion in thinking on the question. As one reads the articles on the currency question from day to day, he finds that an editor emphasizes different phases of the question from time to time and that these phases do not seem to

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<sup>44</sup>Jefferson City *Peoples' Tribune*, August 1, 1877. Additional expressions of this idea may be found in the St. Louis *Republican* of September 27, 1875; the *Sedalia Daily Bazoo* of May 25, 1877, and January 14, 1878; and the Jefferson City *Peoples' Tribune* of July 4, August 29, December 5, December 12, 1877, and February 13 and March 22, 1878.

<sup>45</sup>Quoted in Columbia *Missouri Statesman*, September 7, 1877.

harmonize. For example, an editor may declare that the proper policy was to stop deflation but in a short time he may be found emphasizing the fact that more money was needed and at the same time declaring that he did not favor inflation. The opinions of one paper—the *St. Louis Republican*—seemed to run counter to the prevailing notions in some instances, showing that city interests were not the same as those of the country.

However, when one considers the period as a whole and compares and contrasts all the opinions expressed and thinks of them in relation to the movement for silver inflation—the discussion of which is to follow in a later chapter—it is apparent that there was one idea back of all the discussion, namely, that a greater volume of currency was needed in order to enable the country to recover from the hard times it was experiencing. True, some of the material seems to show that the most immediate danger was deflation. It is probable, however, that this idea represented their notion of the least that could be done—a first step, it might be said. This would give some relief, or, at least, maintain the status quo while to pursue the opposite course—contraction—would complete the ruin of the country.

In regard to inflation the two apparently antagonistic ideas expressed, namely, that more money should be issued but that this did not mean inflation, may be explained as follows. It was easy to see that the government printing press could flood the country with a paper currency that would depreciate and become almost valueless if enough were issued. This was what was meant by inflation. To issue a larger volume of silver was not inflation. The editors could not see that the objections urged against the paper currency were valid when silver was being considered.

The fact that public opinion favored the issue of more money is apparent also when the material on the questions of the need for more money for the exchanges, the resumption of specie payments, and the crime of 1869 is considered. There can be no reasonable doubt that the general consensus of opinion on these subjects was based on the belief that a

greater volume of money was necessary if the questions were to be satisfactorily settled. In regard to the apparent exception to this belief—the St. Louis *Republican*—the reader is referred to the *Republican's* attitude on the question of silver. Then it will be seen that this paper was quite in harmony with the general belief in the state.

(To be continued.)

## JOHN BRADBURY,\* THE EARLIEST ST. LOUISAN OF BOTANICAL NOTE

The wilderness which was the continent of North America presented itself as a challenge to the early botanists of Europe, and the challenge was met with a vigor which even today is marvelous. Emanating from the great Swedish botanist, Carolus Linnaeus, the great importance of extensive collections of specimens became recognized, and, inspired by his intensive travels and studies, many students embarked upon trips of exploration for plants.

Of the many botanists who visited and explored North America during the latter part of the eighteenth, and the early part of the nineteenth centuries, in particular, the names of Michaux, Nuttall, and Bradbury stand in sharp relief for the extent and productivity of their travels. Of the three, Andre Michaux is the most noted. He probably explored more of North America than any of the early botanists, and his explorations have perhaps not been equalled since. His travels extended from the Carolinas to Hudson's Bay and Lake Mistassini in southern Labrador, and hundreds of new plants were added to the knowledge of science through his efforts. Thomas Nuttall is of almost equal fame, since he was one of the first Europeans to cross the continent, and his collections of western plants are among the very earliest. But his traveling companion, John Bradbury, is of particular interest to those St. Louisans who are concerned with botany, because he was one of the earliest botanical explorers of the Mississippi and Missouri valleys, and because, although an Englishman by birth, he became an American and a St. Louisan by adoption.

When Bradbury was sent to this country by the Liverpool Botanic Garden, it was intended that he should make New Orleans the center of his activities, but Thomas Jefferson recommended that St. Louis be chosen instead, because of the

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more varied topography in the upper reaches of the Mississippi valley, as well as the greater region accessible to travel through the proximity of the Missouri river.

Accordingly, Bradbury arrived in St. Louis, December 31, 1809, and made preparations for the reception of the specimens which he planned to accumulate the following spring and summer. During the season of 1810 he made frequent excursions into the "wilderness," but never went further than eighty or one hundred miles from the town. He visited the region about Ste. Genevieve, where he had the good fortune to make friends with a merchant of that town, one M. Longpré, who was of considerable assistance to him with his collecting. The lead mines of the district interested him particularly, and we learn from the account which he subsequently published that he visited the diggings at Mine La Motte, DesLoge, and Herculaneum.

During the autumn and winter of his first year in St. Louis, Bradbury became acquainted with several inhabitants of the town, and was told of the hilly region to the south, called the Ozarks, or, by the older French, "Aux-Arcs," and he laid plans to visit it during the spring of 1811. Those plans, however, were never fulfilled, for late in the winter a party of Canadians arrived whose plan it was to follow the route of Lewis and Clark to the Pacific coast. Bradbury became acquainted with those men and needed very little inducement to go with them instead of visiting the Ozarks. The following spring, accompanied by Thomas Nuttall, the party set out from St. Charles, near the confluence of the Missouri and the Mississippi, and followed the Missouri in canoes as far as the "Mandan Villages," an Indian community close to the present site of Bismarck, North Dakota. There Bradbury thought it best he should leave the expedition, and returned by the same route to St. Louis.

The fact that the two naturalists, Nuttall and Bradbury, both collected plants from the same new localities has caused considerable confusion. The collections of the two men though often made at the same spot and on the same date, were enumerated and described independently; Nuttall's in his "Genera of North American Plants" (1817), and in

Fraser's "Catalogue" (1813); Bradbury's by Pursh in the latter's "Flora Americae Septentrionalis" (1814). So it happened that in many cases the same species received two different names. For example, the plant described by Pursh as *Seseli divaricatum* and collected by Bradbury on the Missouri was earlier described by Nuttall as *Seseli lucidum* and based on a plant collected on the "Missouri." The same is true for *Selinum acaule* of Pursh and *Thapsia glomerata* of Nuttall, the plants from which each was described probably having been collected in the same locality.

Bradbury's experiences upon the expedition were numerous and varied. At Boone's Lick he met Daniel Boone,\* then an old man of over eighty years. Close to the present site of the city of St. Joseph, the party had an encounter with the Nodawessie Indians (for whom Nodaway county receives its name). A terrific storm overtook the party once, and we find in Bradbury's *Journal* evidence of the continual scrutiny and care of the botanist in the midst of bodily perils. "Such lightning and such thunder I never before had witnessed," he wrote. "We stopped and fastened our boats to some shrubs (*Amorpha fruticosa*) and prepared to save ourselves and our little barks if possible. Upon my recommendation, we left the trees which in a short time would furnish us little shelter, and might become an actual danger, and went into the open prairie where we lay down in our blankets. I put my plants under me."

The botanical activities of Bradbury in the territory of the hostile Sioux were a source of concern to the other explorers, and he was frequently accompanied by a friend who acted as a lookout, since his occupation kept him "for the most part in a stooping position." It does not seem, however, that he had much to fear from the Indians. They at all times accorded him respectful interest, believing him to be the physician of the expedition since he was always occupied with his plants, and several times the native medicine men asked him to examine their stock of herbs, and occasionally furnished him with a new plant, for which he was grateful.

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\*Bradbury met Daniel Boone at Charette on the north bank of the Missouri river, near the present village of Marthasville, Warren County, Missouri.

Several observations of more than ordinary interest are related in Bradbury's *Journal*, one of which concerns the naturalization of the European honey-bee in North America. "The honey-bees have been introduced into this continent from Europe," he explained, "but at what time I have not been able to ascertain. Even if it be admitted that they were brought over soon after the first settlement took place, their increase appears astonishing, as bees are found in all parts of the United States; and since they have entered upon the fine countries of the Illinois and Upper Louisiana, their progress westward has been surprisingly rapid. It is generally known in Upper Louisiana that bees had not been found westward of the Mississippi prior to the year 1797. They relate in St. Louis that a French lady of that place having received a present of honey from Kaskaskias was much delighted with it, and being told that it was produced by a kind of fly, she sent a negro with a small box to Kaskaskias (60 miles) to get a pair of the flies, in order that she might obtain the breed. They are now found as high up the Missouri as the Maha nation, having moved westward to the distance of 600 miles in fourteen years. Bees have spread over this continent in a degree, and with a celerity so nearly corresponding to that of the Anglo-Americans that it has given rise to a belief, both amongst the Indians and the Whites, that bees are their precursors, and that to whatever part they go the white people will follow. I am of the opinion that they are right, as I think it as impossible to stop the progress of one as of the other."

Soon after arriving again in St. Louis, Bradbury prepared to return to England whence he had sent his plants before him, and left upon a Mississippi river barge for New Orleans, December 5, 1811. Just below New Madrid, upon the night of December 15, Bradbury witnessed a natural phenomenon which has had few equals in violence in this country, and one which has been but poorly described at first hand. Bradbury's account is one of the most vivid:

"In the night, about ten o'clock, I was awakened by a most tremendous noise, accompanied by so violent an agitation of the boat that it appeared in danger of upsetting.

Before I could quit the bed, or rather the skin, upon which I lay, the four men who slept in the other cabin rushed in, and cried out in the greatest terror, 'O mon Dieu! Monsieur Bradbury, qu'est ce qu'il y a?' I passed them with some difficulty, and ran to the door of the cabin, where I could distinctly see the river agitated as if by a storm; and although the noise was inconceivably loud and terrific, I could distinctly hear the crash of falling trees, and the screaming of wild fowl on the river."

It was, in fact, the great New Madrid earthquake, the most violent and most widely distributed earthquake of which there is any human record in North America. The boat in which the party was resting was safely moored to a low bank, which probably saved their lives, for a high cliff on the opposite side of the river was falling into the water in such vast fragments as to nearly sink the craft by the swell occasioned. During the remaining hours of the night violent shocks occurred at intervals of from six to ten minutes, and in all twenty-seven shocks of great severity were counted. In the morning the river was covered with foam and drift timber and had risen considerably, but the boat was still miraculously safe. Even during the day, however, frequent shocks occurred. "The trees on both sides of the river were most violently agitated, and the banks in several places fell in, within our view, carrying with them innumerable trees, the crash of which falling into the river, mixed with the terrible sound attending the shock, and the screaming of the geese and other wild fowl, produced an idea that all nature was in a state of dissolution." Upon its arrival at the "Chickasaw Bluffs," the present site of Memphis, Tennessee, the party was informed that the wide plains upon which the town of New Madrid was situated had become an enormous lake, and that the inhabitants had all fled the region.

Upon his arrival in England from New Orleans, Bradbury found to his dismay that the plants which he had sent to Liverpool had been inspected by "a certain person named Pursh," who had studied them and had published what new ones there were. This breach of faith so filled Bradbury with indignation that he refused to have anything more to do with



the specimens, and he soon left England permanently, returning to St. Louis, where he had formed numerous acquaintances and made friends with prominent families of the town. St. Louis became his home henceforth. Until recently it was not known how long Bradbury lived after his return, the only evidence that he was still alive in 1821 being the city directory of that year, which listed his name as one of the residents of the city. However, an examination of the newspaper files of that period revealed the following notice which appeared in the *Republican* under date of May 7, 1823.

Died at Middletown, Ky., on the 16th of March last, after a short illness, Mr. John Bradbury. Mr. Bradbury is known to the scientific world as one among the first botanists and mineralogists. His knowledge in science generally was esteemed valuable. Never was there a better companion or more sincere friend.

DUCHARME'S INVASION OF MISSOURI AN  
INCIDENT IN THE ANGLO-SPANISH  
RIVALRY FOR THE INDIAN TRADE  
OF UPPER LOUISIANA

BY ABRAHAM P. NASATIR

PART III

(Concluded)

DOCUMENT V

COPY OF THE VERBAL PROCEEDINGS MADE ON THE MISSOURI<sup>1</sup>

Today, the twelfth of March of the year 1773, we,<sup>2</sup> the undersigned, Laclede Lique, Commander; Antonio Berat, Second Commander; Noel Langlois, officer; Laville; Labadia, and Bombarle, Sergeant of the Detachment of volunteers sent from the town of St. Louis by order of Mr. Pedro Piernas, Lieutenant-Governor at the said town with the purpose of entering the Missouri River and arresting on it Mr. Juan Marie Ducharme, trader from the English Side who had entered it against all rights and had taken ammunition and merchandise to the tribe of Little Osages and whose bad conduct had compelled the aforesaid Mr. Pedro Piernas to deprive them of traders until they had atoned for their faults by means of their submission.

We certify to all those who happen to know about this that after having entered the said Missouri River with three canoes and having arrived at the bend (*sinuosidad*) on the right bank of the aforesaid river below the Isla del Buy, we landed there yesterday evening, the eleventh inst. at about

<sup>1</sup>The "Verbal Process" and the inventories which follow were enclosed in Piernas' letter to Unzaga of the twelfth of April, 1773. Translated in article which precedes these documents. They are in *Archivo General de Indias*, Seccion, *Papeles de Cuba*, legajo 2357.

<sup>2</sup>References to these men are to be found (or at least to most of the men named) in Houck's *History of Missouri and Spanish Regime in Missouri*; Scharf's *History of St. Louis*; and Billon's *Annals of St. Louis*.

Labadia is probably Sylvester Labbadie.

five-thirty of the same day with the intention of establishing our camp there. A short while after landing while we were busy building the camp, we heard about four canoes (piraguas) tied together in pairs, and another canoe (canoa) which was rounding the bend (cabo) of the opposite shore. After we noticed them we again embarked in our boats in order to meet them; but the leaders also having noticed us, landed below the bend (cabo) of the opposite shore. After seeing them on land we crossed over the *batura* below them with the idea of getting there by land; but that before arriving there we saw coming towards us over the *batura* some fifteen men, some of whom were armed with rifles. When they were within shouting distance, we asked them who they were, to which one of them answered that he was Ducharme. Instantly we intimated to him that we were in behalf of the King, to which he answered that he would not surrender, and that if we undertook to capture him, we would not seize him until he was dead. In order to avoid going to extremes as much as possible, we admonished the crew of the aforesaid Ducharme in general and especially the one called Pedro Bissonet not to attempt any defense on his behalf. We made them know the risk they were running if they made use of arms, and we promised them that if they remained peaceful we would pardon the fault that they had committed by binding themselves to a man who was engaged in trade on a forbidden side (of the Mississippi).

Mr. Ducharme, fearing that his people would hesitate under these promises, made all possible efforts to persuade them that they were as guilty as he, that we were liars (impostors) that they should not heed us and that he made fun of us. After having noticed by the answer that the one called Pedro Bissonet gave us that our promise of pardon had impressed them and since night was approaching, we decided to return to the camp from where we left so as to give them time to reflect upon it during the night. Being informed that Mr. Ducharme had with him a savage of the Iroquois tribe we had the latter called by a man named Laventura, a volunteer, who interpreted for us in the Iroquois language that we were his friends as well as his tribe's. We exhorted him not

to follow Ducharme for we felt that something would happen to him in the battle, and that if he remained peaceful we would promise him a present in the name of the Spanish Father, to which he answered that (this) was not possible and that we could do whatever we pleased.

Since night had come the whole detachment spent it on the alert in order to avoid, with our vigilance, that the canoes of Mr. Ducharme could not, in the (under cover of) darkness, come down without our knowing it and in order to avoid any attack by land.

Today, the twelfth of the referred month of March, we were getting ready about eight o'clock in the morning to cross over the *batura* on the left shore in order to attack the aforesaid Ducharme on two sides, from the woods and from the crossing (por el monte y por la batura), but (that) just as we were about to leave, the aforementioned Ducharme came along armed with his rifle to stand at the shore of the aforesaid *batura* opposite our camp. While standing there he asked us: "Why are we waiting to decide what we have to do (lo que esperabamos para lo que teniamos que hacer);" to which we asked him in reply, why was he, himself, waiting in order to decide to surrender himself? (¿le preguntamos en respuesta que que aguardaba, el mismo, para la resolucion de rendirse).

The aforementioned Ducharme told us, then, that he was completely determined to die rather than to surrender himself, on account of which and because of the challenge he made to us we fired at him a volley from our rifles which he stood firmly and apparently without moving and without having been wounded because of the long distance which separated us from him.

After the first shot, Ducharme fired at us without hurting anybody, and noticing that we were beginning to shoot again, he decided to withdraw to his camp, and by withdrawing he made us think that he was wounded.

A short time after having arrived at his camp, the aforesaid Pedro Bisonet, (marinero del referido Ducharme) came into our presence and informed us of his resolution to surrender to us, likewise that of his brother and other sailors

(marineros); but at the same time he informed us that he was being watched and that he feared that Mr. Ducharme would fire on him if he (Ducharme) saw him.

In order to induce him to surrender we repeated to him the promises that we had made yesterday and to the rest of the sailors (marineros), and we sent a canoe over the *batura* with the rifle men in order to facilitate his crossing (?), and that of two other sailors who were with him. After the latter had arrived at our Camp other sailors appeared successively and we had them come across. The aforesaid sailors who are in our camp, number twelve, have informed us that the aforesaid Ducharme was wounded and that he had retired into the woods with the Iroquois Savage (?), and that there was only left in the camp an Indian of the Little Osages called Lagueuletorse who had come down with aforesaid Ducharme, on account of which Antonio Berard was sent with a detachment of twenty men in order to take possession of the canoes and property of Mr. Ducharme, a thing which he executed and which he bought before (to) our camp. Later, before doing anything else (according to the information he gave us) he had Mr. Ducharme called three different times from the shore of the woods, in front of the place where he was camping, without having obtained any reply or news from him. After the canoes arrived at our Camp we proceed(ed) with the inventory of their load as it is going to be told in detail (later) in the following manner:

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In a raft composed of two canoes:

twenty-five bearskins

Two small tarpaulins that serve as covers

#### CARGO

Fifteen small skins full of bear oil

Three skins of oil covered with bear skins, which the one named Pedro Bissonet declared was his

Four loaves of tallow covered with a deer skin

Another loaf of tallow covered with a bear skin which Pedro Bissonet said was his

Eight barrels of mixed grease according to the declaration of the aforesaid Bissonet

A barrel which the aforesaid Bissonet said contained salt  
 A trunk which the aforementioned Bissonet said contained mirrors  
 Five bundles of dried meat wrapped in bear skins  
 An oil bag packed in a bear skin  
 A bundle covered with bear skin and thirty (?) dried squash  
 A small cow-hide sack containing deer tongues and beaver tails  
 A ferret-skin sack containing deer tongues  
 A bundle of covered kettles with decorated rims  
 A copper kettle with lid  
 Eight copper kettles with medium width mouths  
 A heavy brass kettle  
 A medium-sized sheet-iron bucket  
 A small ferret-skin containing another small sack of flour  
 A little skin sack containing corn and flour  
 A small open box containing four empty bottles, a small horn mirror (*mirador de Asta*), a wooden spoon; a sack containing the small remainder of about an ounce of vermilion; a lump of *Natachens*; forty-nine awls or needles for sewing sails, two porcelain bones (stones?); two razors (knives) four pairs of scissors (for trade), about one ounce of yellow tape, forty sewing thimbles in a little linen sack, *dos rapies*, and four silver rings.

A medium-sized box which the one called Dulorier, Marinero of the above mentioned Ducharme, has said that it belonged to the aforementioned Ducharme, and the key which Mr. Laclede has retained.

NOTA: In the cargo of the aforementioned ship (*buque*) Mr. Bernard claimed to have two small skins full of oil, and a small bale of dried meat

FURS: A medium-sized bundle containing various furs and a pair of French shoes

A medium-sized bundle of deer-skins with hair, which the sailors have declared belong to the Iroquois savage

A bundle of bear skins and one stag (deer) skin

Two bundles of beaver skin

A bundle of catskins, *pichus* (?), and fox skins

Five bundles of bear skins

Thirty-one bundles of tanned deer skins

Seven packages of tanned deer skins, parchment style (with the hair removed)

An axe (calumet) with handle, which Pedro Bissonet said had been given to Mr. Ducharme by the Little Osage Chief, in order to send it to Pedro Piernas

A quiver of arrows and bow which Pedro Bissonet said belonged to the Iroquois savage

An axe (calumet) with handle wrapped in a skin

A quiver of arrows

Two canoes joined (one joined to the other) furnished with six oars and two poles (*varales*)

After having finished the inventory of the aforesaid canoes fastened together, we again loaded all the goods above mentioned and proceeded with the inventory of the other two canoes which make up another boat (buque), and it is as follows:

- Thirty-five small bear skins
- One poor goat skin with hair
- Two tarpaulins
- Another tarpaulin, badly water-proofed, serving as a cover
- Fourteen skins of oil wrapped in deer hides among which, Bernard, marinero, claimed that there were five which belonged to him
- A cake (loave?) of tallow wrapped in a bear skin
- Ditto, medium sized, wrapped in a ferret skin
- Ditto, wrapped in a bear skin which Pedro Bissonet says is his
- Four ferret-skin sacks, one of which being one-third full of corn
- A small linen sack containing *Alberjones*
- A bundle of dried meat wrapped in a bear skin which the one called Greffroi (sic), marinero, says belonged to him
- Two bales of dried meat one of them half wrapped in bear skins
- A skin sack filled with venison
- A ferret skin sack containing deer tongues and beaver tails
- Two bales of squash packed in bear skins
- A package of buffa'o skins wrapped in tanned bear skin (curtidas)
- A bale covered with a bear skin containing, according to the declarations of the sailors, various merchandise
- A small bale of the same
- A small bale which seems to be of dried deer skins covered with a bear skin
- A small bale of kettles covered with bear skins
- A ferret-skin sack which appears to have inside a sack containing flour
- Another ferret-skin containing various effects which the sailors have said belong to the Iroquois savage
- A barrel of gun powder
- Another barrel of salt
- Another barrel containing various iron goods
- Another skin sack filled with corn
- Fourteen packages of tanned deer skins, of which each fold contains various goods, according to the declaration of the sailors
- Two packages of beaver skins
- Twenty-six packages of tanned deer skins with the hair removed
- Two packages of bear skins
- Two pot ladles
- A deer skin which wraps up a string of squash belonging to the Iroquois Indian according to the declaration of the sailors

One bear skin  
 A locked box belonging to Mr. Ducharme  
 An empty barrel  
 A small portable mattress made with blankets  
 A pillow  
 A sack containing shirts and other articles  
 A suit of tanned buffalo skin  
 A canvas for wrapping  
 An empty ferret skin sack  
 A copper kettle with lid  
 A wooden plate  
 A hatchet (*Una media hacha*)  
 Two medium sized canoes equipped with a rudder, four large oars  
 and eight small ones

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And after having finished the inventory of the aforesaid two canoes we proceeded with that of a canoe which follows the said boats, viz.:

One skin half full of oil, a brass kettle with tallow inside, a small kettle filled (?) with salt inside, a dirty tent (awning), a small package of bear skins, some bear grease, a flat hook, a concave hook, a hatchet, a scale with wooden plates and a spear

A canoe equipped with two large and two small oars

Ten guns found on land in Mr. Ducharme's camp, among which are those which belong to the sailors, according to their declaration.

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And everything being finished we have completed the said inventory which has been made in the presence of we, the undersigned, and Messrs. Labrosse, Larche, and Choret, owners of the three canoes (*piraguas*) which are serving the detachment, who have declared that they do not know how to write, having been questioned and signaled by us, except Mr. Labrosse who has signed with us; in which faith and of that set down above we have made this testimony (*proceso verbal*) to do according to law. Made and passed in our camp below the *Isla del Buey*, on the Missouri, the twelfth day of the month of March of the year One thousand seven hundred seventy-three. *Laclede-Liquet—Berar (d) — Labadia — Noel Langlois—Labille—Joseph Labrosse*, and Mr. Bomberleis have declared to us that they do not know how to write, were questioned and signaled (*interpolado*) by us. *Laclede-Liquet—Berard—Noel Langlois—Labille—Joseph Labrosse*.



It is a copy of the original, which translated from the French remains in my keeping, which I certify. St. Louis de Ylinois, April 11, 1773. *Pedro Piernas*—(Rubric)

DOCUMENT VI

Copy of the Inventory of the Effects Confiscated from Don Juan Maria Ducharme, Trader of the English District—March 29, 1773.<sup>1</sup>

Today, the twenty-ninth day of the month of March of one thousand seven hundred and seventy-three, at nine o'clock in the morning, I, Don Pedro Piernas, Captain of the Infantry and Lieutenant-Governor of the Settlements and Dependencies of the Illinois, with the motive of the confiscation made by Senor Don Pedro Laclede Lique, *Comandante* of a detachment of military volunteers who by my order went to the Missouri River to arrest the one named Juan Maria Ducharme, trader from the English district (*partida*) with all his goods for having entered secretly and against all law upon the said river and on account of this action, fatal consequences (were) caused by the Indians declaring war upon the settlers of this territory, to which Indians he sent fire-arms and ammunition; when steps were taken to take them away, they were offended; I have gone in the house where the said effects confiscated from Ducharme since his arrival at this post of St. Louis are deposited and guarded, accompanied by Senor Don Luis de St. Ange, former (retired) Captain of the Infantry, Don Antonio de Oro, *subteniente* of the Battalion of Louisiana, Don Luis Picote Beletre, former official, and Joseph Papin, merchant, all residents of this said post, whom

<sup>1</sup>This inventory is presented here for the purpose of illustrating the kinds of goods, merchandise and skins that were used in the trade with the Indians at the time. The translation has been made rather a word for word translation. The figures as given are not correct or exact in all cases. The translator has found a number of mistakes and the total as given does not tally with the total of figures that are given. Undoubtedly some errors in copying the figures have been made, but the translator has been unable to have the entire inventory rechecked or re-copied due to the restrictions which the Spanish Government has placed upon copying in the Archival depositories under its jurisdiction. Generally speaking the figures "written out" are far more reliable than the figures represented in numbers. In several cases the translator has ventured to correct the figures through the use of footnotes. In the "written out" figures some corrections have been indicated by parenthetical insertions.

I have called and named in order to proceed according to customary formality with the inventory of all the aforesaid confiscated effects so that they may be present at its execution and verify it according to the following order:

First: Three oil bear skins which weighed together one hundred and fifty libras<sup>3</sup> *con su tara*<sup>4</sup> (gross weight), estimated at the rate of forty sueldos<sup>5</sup> in coin *el pote*<sup>6</sup>.....72

Three skins of oil which weighed together one hundred and sixty eight libras *con su tara*, estimated at the rate of forty sueldos in money *el pote*.....86

Three other oil bear skins which weighed together one hundred and ninety four libras *con su tara*, estimated at the rate of forty sueldos in money *el pote*.....94

Ditto, three other oil bear skins which weighed together one hundred and seventy nine libras *con su tara*, estimated at the rate of forty sueldos in money *el pote*.....80

Ditto, three other oil bear skins which weighed together one hundred and forty three libras *con su tara*, estimated at the rate of forty sueldos in money *el pote*.....72

Ditto, two oil bear skins which weighed together one hundred and seventy-one libras *con su tara*, estimated at forty sueldos in money *el pote*.....76

Ditto, two other oil bear skins which weighed together one hundred and fifty libras *con su tara*, estimated at the rate of forty sueldos in money *el pote*.....72

Ditto, two other oil bear skins which together weighed one hundred and ninety libras *con su tara*, estimated at the rate of forty sueldos in money *el pote*.....92

Ditto, three other oil bear skins which together weighed one hundred and seventy two libras *con su tara*, estimated at the rate of forty sueldos in money *el pote*.....78

A portion of unmelted bear grease in a bear skin which together weighed seventy three libras estimated at forty sueldos in money *el pote*.....34

Two cakes (loaves) of tallow which together with the skins wrapping them weighed one hundred and sixty one libras at the rate of ten sueldos per libra.....80<sup>8</sup>

<sup>3</sup>Libra is a weight equivalent to about 460 grams. See also the note 4.

<sup>4</sup>Tara, used in the commercial sense is, *Tare*, an allowance made to a purchaser of the weight of the box, cask, sack, etc., in which goods are packed.

<sup>5</sup>Sueldo is a monetary denomination. Twenty sueldos are the equivalent of a libra. A libra used in the monetary sense as it is used in this inventory is probably the equivalent of the old French *liere*, used in Louisiana.

<sup>6</sup>El pote is a standard weight or measure.

<sup>8</sup>80-10.

Two cakes of tallow which together with the three skins enwrapping them weighed one hundred and sixty libras at the rate of ten sueldos in money per libra.....79<sup>7</sup>

Ditto, two other cakes of tallow which together with the skins wrapping them weighed one hundred and sixty one libras at the rate of ten sueldos in money per libra.....80<sup>8</sup>

Ditto, two other cakes of tallow which together with the skins wrapping them weighed one hundred and forty seven libras at the rate of ten sueldos per libra.....73<sup>9</sup>

Ditto, one hundred and twenty eight libras of tallow contained in a bear skin, in another of deer, and in a ferret-skin sack whose weights are included in the aforementioned (number of) libras at the rate of ten sueldos in money per libra.....60<sup>10</sup>

Ditto, two barrels of grease and tallow mixed which together with the barrels weighed one hundred and thirty four libras at the rate of eight sueldos per libra.....48(?)<sup>11</sup>

Ditto, two other barrels of grease and tallow mixed which together with the barrels weighed one hundred and forty libras at the rate of eight sueldos in money per libra.....50-08<sup>12</sup>

Ditto, two other barrels of grease and tallow mixed which together with the barrels weighed one hundred and forty two libras, at the rate of eight sueldos in money per libra amounts (to).....51-04<sup>13</sup>

Ditto, two other barrels of grease and tallow mixed which together with the barrels weighed one hundred and twenty three libras, amounting, at the rate of eight sueldos in money per libra (to).....43-12<sup>14</sup>

Ditto, another barrel of grease and tallow mixed which together with the barrel weighed seventy three libras at the rate of eight sueldos in money per libra, amounting to.....22-08<sup>15</sup>

Ditto, two sacks filled with beaver tails and dried deer tongues which weighed together sixty five libras at the rate of three sueldos in money per libra, amounting to.....9-15

Ditto, a piece of dried meat in a bear skin estimated altogether at five libras in money.....5

An oil bear skin which together (*con su tara*) weighed fifty three libras estimated at the value of forty sueldos *el pote*.....25

And after having stopped work as twelve o'clock struck, the continuing of this inventory was postponed until three

<sup>7</sup>80.

<sup>8</sup>80-10.

<sup>9</sup>73-10.

<sup>10</sup>64. There is a possibility here of a mistake in the number of libras written out in the inventory. Probably one hundred libras are meant instead of one hundred and twenty-eight as given.

<sup>11</sup>53-12.

<sup>12</sup>56.

<sup>13</sup> 56-8 or 56-08.

<sup>14</sup>49-4 or 49-04.

<sup>15</sup>29-4 or 29-04.

o'clock and the above mentioned witnesses signed with me.—  
*St. Ange—Antonio de Oro—Picote de Beletre—Joseph Papin—  
 Pedro Piernas.*

On the same day, the twenty-ninth of March, at three  
 o'clock in the afternoon, continuing the present inventory,  
 the following effects were inventoried:

Four buffalo skins with the fur removed at the rate of six libras each.....	24
Ditto, eight swan skins with their feathers, estimated at the rate of twenty sueldos each.....	8
Ditto, fourteen <i>Placotees</i> (sic) <i>secos de Baca</i> (sic) estimated at one <i>peso fuerte</i> (each) .....	70 <sup>16</sup>
Ditto, twenty eight pieces of dried meat estimated at fifty sueldos each.....	70
Ditto, eighteen pieces of dried squash estimated at fifteen sueldos in money each.....	13-10
Ditto, a half bushel ( <i>minot</i> ) of peas estimated at two libras and ten sueldos in money.....	2-10
Ditto, about three-quarters of a bushel ( <i>minot</i> ) of tender corn estimated at three libras in money.....	3
Ditto, two bushels ( <i>micotes</i> ) of corn at forty sueldos in money each....	4
Ditto, two sacks, one of raw hide and the other of ferret skin containing eight beaver tails and dried deer tongues which weighed all together thirty-seven libras, estimated at the rate of three sueldos in money per libra.....	5-02 <sup>17</sup>
Ditto, four tarpaulins which serve to cover the canoes estimated at eight libras in money each.....	32
Another small tarpaulin serving like the rest to cover the canoes estimated at three libras in money.....	3
NOTE: That of the sixty-two bear skins only twenty-five good ones have been found, after having examined them (and because the rest are inferior), the price of the good ones is fifty sueldos, and that of the poorer ones twenty-five sueldos, all in money.	
Ditto, sixty-two of the largest bear skins and the remainder smaller ones,—the whole lot estimated at forty five sueldos each, in money.....	121 <sup>18</sup>
Ditto, twenty-six <i>mantas de tres puntos</i> , estimated at twelve libras each, in money.....	312
Ditto, five (four ?) blankets with four <i>puntos</i> estimated at fifteen libras each, in money.....	60

<sup>16</sup>Peso fuerte is a silver coin weighing an ounce. It is used here as the equivalent of five libras.

<sup>17</sup>5-11. Possibly thirty-seven libras is meant for the thirty-four as given.

<sup>18</sup>130-10.

Ditto, fifty blankets with two and one half <i>puntos</i> estimated each at eleven libras in money.....	550
Ditto, twelve blankets of the finer grade with two and one half <i>puntos</i> , each estimated at twelve libras and three (ten ?) sueldos in money, amounting (to).....	150
Ditto, eight good mirrors, and another cracked (one) estimated each at two libras and ten sueldos in money.....	22 <sup>19</sup>
Ditto, six smaller mirrors, one cracked, estimated at thirty sueldos each, in money, amounting to.....	9
Ditto, twelve libras of beads estimated at thirty sueldos in money per libra, amounting to.....	18
Ditto, six <i>libras</i> of alum (rock) estimated at twenty five sueldos in money per libra, amounting to.....	7-10
Ditto, two <i>libras</i> of spun wool estimated at forty sueldos in money per libra.....	4
Ditto, ten pairs of ordinary trading scissors estimated altogether at twenty sueldos.....	1
Ditto, five razors estimated at twenty-five sueldos each, in money.....	6-5
Ditto, seven large knives ( <i>de treta</i> ) each estimated at ten sueldos in money.....	3-10
Ditto, two pieces of woolen tape together estimated at four libras in money.....	4
Ditto, twenty-one needles for sewing sails estimated together at two libras and ten sueldos.....	2-10
Ditto, twenty-eight awls estimated at two libras and sixteen sueldos.....	2-16
Ditto, seven libras of vermilion estimated at ten libras in money per libra.....	70
Ditto, one hundred and thirty one porcelain vessels ( <i>ramos de porcelina</i> ) each containing forty five grains ( <i>uno cosa de quarenta y cinco granos</i> ), all told a thousand of them, at the rate of three libras in money, amounting to.....	21
Thirty nine thimbles valued together at two libras in money.....	2
Ditto, two blanket cloaks estimated at eight libras in money each....	16
Ditto, two woolen table-cloths estimated at five libras in money each.....	10
Ditto, six (seven) shirts with blue stripes and decorated, and another of linen each one estimated at five libras in money.....	35
Ditto, <i>quatro onas y un trecio sic</i> (four and one third onas ?) of that which are called <i>Gingas</i> in French estimated at the rate of twenty-five sueldos in money per ona.....	5-8
Ditto, six <i>onas</i> of cotton-flannel ( <i>moleton</i> ) estimated at three libras in money per <i>ona</i> .....	18
Ditto, eleven and one-half <i>onas de Limbur</i> estimated at the rate of ten libras per <i>ona</i> amounting to.....	115 <sup>20</sup>

<sup>19</sup>22-10.

<sup>20</sup>115-10.

Ditto, nine spears of iron (iron spears), four chisels without handles, four *Casateles a lanza*, with two more, two old spades (or hoes) all of iron and estimated altogether at twenty-five libras.....25

Ditto, four pewter cups estimated at the rate of twenty-five sueldos in money each.....5

And after having stopped when the six-thirty struck, the continuation of the present inventory was postponed until tomorrow, the thirtieth of the aforementioned month, and the above mentioned witnesses signed with me: *St. Ange—Antonio de Oro—Picote Beletre—Joseph Papin—Pedro Piernas.*

The thirtieth day of the same month of March, at eight-thirty o'clock in the morning, continuing the present inventory in the presence of the same witnesses the following effects were listed:

A case with four empty bottles estimated at three libras altogether....3  
 Twelve silver plated shells (*conchas de plata baxa*) estimated at the rate of twenty sueldos each in money, amounting to.....12  
 Ditto, ten silver plated locketts each estimated at twenty sueldos in money, amounting to.....10  
 Ditto, eight silver plated crosses estimated at the rate of ten sueldos each, in money, amounting to.....4  
 Ditto, eighteen smaller silver plated crosses, each estimated at the rate of five sueldos in money.....4-10  
 Ditto, two bracelets and two nostril rings of the same silver plated metal for the use of the savages, estimated at thirty sueldos altogether, in money.....1-10  
 Ditto, fifty-one rings of the same silver plated metal for the use of the savages each estimated at the rate of twenty sueldos in money.....51  
 Ditto, twenty-two pieces of a sort of bone or composition to decorate the girdles (*cola*) of the savages each estimated at the rate of ten sueldos in money, amounting to.....11  
 Ditto, fifteen copper jars with (their) lids of all sizes weighing sixty-four (seventy-four ?) libras estimated at the rate of fifty sueldos in money per libra, amounting to.....185  
 Ditto, twenty-six copper or brass kettles which together weighed ninety-seven libras estimated at the rate of forty-five sueldos in money per libra, amounting to.....218-05  
 Ditto, two large copper jars one with lid and the other without, which have been used, and weigh together fifteen libras, estimated at the rate of forty sueldos in money per libra.....30  
 Ditto, six used copper kettles of various sizes which weighed together twenty-three libras estimated at twenty sueldos in money per libra.....23

Ditto, two iron spoons and one sheet-iron pail estimated altogether at eleven libras .....	11
Ditto, two hundred and forty nine libras [net weight ( <i>sin tara</i> )] of clean gunpowder contained in a barrel and various sacks, estimated at the rate of three (libras) in money per libra, amounting to .....	747
Ditto, six muskets (used for trading purposes— <i>fusiles de treta</i> ) which have been used, estimated at the rate of ten libras in money each, amounting to .....	60
One pistol estimated at seven libras in money .....	7
Ditto, a barrel of salt weighing, together with the barrel, fifty-eight libras estimated at ten libras in money .....	10
Ditto, fifty libras of bear grease salted without melting, in a barrel whose weight is unknown, estimated at the rate of eight sueldos in money per libra .....	20
Ditto, a sack of grain which weighed, all told, thirty-nine libras estimated at five libras in money .....	5
Ditto, six-and-one-half libras of soap estimated at the rate of forty sueldos per libra, in money .....	13
Ditto, thirteen libras of canvas material estimated at five sueldos per libra, in money .....	3-5
Ditto, a used mosquito netting estimated at five libras in money .....	5
Ditto, six sacks used for packing estimated at twenty sueldos in money, each, amounting to .....	6
Ditto, a used skin tent valued at fifteen libras .....	15
Ditto, a chest containing various effects which are listed below, estimated alone with its lock and key at five libras in money .....	5
Ditto, three used striped shirts of cotton weave estimated at the rate of three libras in money, each .....	9
Ditto, a child's white linen shirt estimated at two libras .....	2
Ditto, a copper mold for bullets, making twenty bullets at a time, estimated at fifteen libras in money .....	15
Ditto, two iron locks, one without key, estimated at six libras in money, altogether .....	6
Ditto, eight curved knives estimated at five sueldos in money, each .....	2
Ditto, four chisels estimated at the rate of twenty sueldos each in money, amounting to .....	4
Ditto, a small silver cup estimated at seven libras and ten sueldos in money .....	7-10
Ditto, eighteen pairs of large and small scissors estimated altogether at five libras in money .....	5
Ditto, sixteen files estimated at five sueldos in money each .....	4
Ditto, eight shells estimated altogether at four libras .....	4
Ditto, forty-seven pairs of nose and earrings for the use of the savages estimated at thirty sueldos in money per pair .....	70-10
<sup>for</sup> Ditto, four razors in three cases estimated together with the cases at four libras in money .....	4

Ditto, two ink wells estimated together at twenty sueldos in money because of their being made of glass.....	1
Ditto, a line or cord eight fathoms long estimated at thirty sueldos in money.....	1-10
Ditto, a powder horn estimated at twenty sueldos in money.....	1
Ditto, a small English trunk with lock and key estimated with some pipes at fifty sueldos in money.....	2-10
Ditto, four cups and saucers of pewter estimated altogether at twenty libras in money.....	20
Ditto, a pair of used linen pants estimated at five libras in money.....	5
Ditto, two flannel undershirts estimated, the two together, at six libras in money.....	6
Ditto, a used shirt of striped cotton, estimated at four libras in money.....	4
Ditto, a striped shirt estimated, because of being small and new, at four libras in money.....	4
Ditto, an old pair of linen trousers, two caps of cotton, two remnants one of blue cloth and the other of white cotton flannel, estimated altogether at three libras in money.....	3
Ditto, a used linen sack estimated at twenty sueldos in money.....	1
Ditto, a pair of shoe buckles with straps, estimated, because of being silver, at three libras in money.....	3
Ditto, two medium sized axes, two hooks, estimated altogether at twelve libras in money.....	12
Ditto, a spear estimated at twenty sueldos in money.....	1
Ditto, ten blankets <i>de tres puntos</i> , <sup>21</sup> estimated at twelve libras each, which made a satisfactory mattress.....	120
Ditto, a linen cover which served to cover the (aforementioned) blankets estimated at twenty sueldos in money.....	1
Ditto, a feather pillow with two sacks covering it estimated at thirty sueldos in money, altogether.....	1-10

And after stopping when twelve o'clock struck, the continuation of the present inventory was postponed until three o'clock in the afternoon. And the above mentioned witnesses signed with me—*St. Ange—Antonio de Oro—Picote Beletre—Joseph Papin—Pedro Piernas.*

On the same day, the thirtieth of March, in the presence of the aforesaid witnesses, at three o'clock in the afternoon, continuing the present inventory, the following effects were listed:

Ditto, three canoes (*piraguas*) two of them old and the other one new' the first two estimated at forty libras in money (each) and the other new

<sup>21</sup>*Mantas de tres puntos.* Puntos, I believe, refers to the weight or knitting of the blankets.



one at fifty libras in money, altogether amounting to one hundred and thirty libras.....130

Ditto, twenty-eight *luras* (*sic*) each estimated at three libras in money on account of their being found most of them open and of poor taste (*mala sazon*), amounting altogether to.....84

Ditto, five blankets *de dos puntos y medio* two of them estimated at eleven libras in money each, on account of their being ordinary (ones) and the other three (estimated) at twelve libras and ten sueldos in money each, on account of their being of a better grade, altogether amounting to.....59-10

Ditto, two sacks of gunpowder which weighed, including the sacks, fifty-six (two?) libras estimated at the rate of three libras in money per libra, amounting [the *tara de los sacos* being removed (deducted?)] to....156

Ditto, one hundred and twenty-four bear skins which were examined and found to be good, estimated at the rate of fifty sueldos in money each, amounting to.....310

Ditto, twenty-three small bear skins which were found to be good, estimated at the rate of twenty sueldos in money each.....23

Ditto, three bear skins which were found bad and (of) very inferior (quality), estimated at twenty-five sueldos in money, each.....3-15

Ditto, three other small bear skins which were examined and found bad and (of) inferior (quality) estimated at twelve sueldos and six *dineros*<sup>22</sup> each, amounting to.....17-06

Ditto, two deer skins, one good and the other (of) inferior (quality) *y no de receta* estimated, the first one at six libras in money and the other at three libras, which amounts for the two.....9

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And after having spent until six-thirty o'clock in the evening in weighing the packs (bundles—paquetes) of skins and examining some of them, the continuation of the present inventory was postponed until the morrow. And the afore-said (same) witnesses signed with me.—*St. Ange—Antonio de Oro—Picote de Beletre—Joseph Papin—Pedro Piernas.*

The thirty-first day of the month of March, in the presence of the aforementioned witnesses, at nine o'clock in the morning, continuing the present inventory, the following effects were listed:

Four thousand eight hundred and eighty-two and one-half libras of deerskins with the hair removed estimated, on account of their being *buenay de receta* (in good condition), at forty sueldos per libra, amounting to...9765

<sup>22</sup>*Dinero* is a weight or a coin and is used here probably as the equivalent of about a half libra, referring to money.

Ditto, eight-hundred fifty-nine and one-half libras deerskins with hair removed, of inferior quality and weighing two libras each, estimated at twenty sueldos per libra .....	859-10
Ditto, two-hundred sixty-seven and one-quarter libras of beaver, <i>bueno y de receta</i> , estimated at four libras in money per libra, amounting to .....	1069
Ditto, ten and three-quarters libras of beaver, of inferior quality and weighing two (libras) each, estimated at the rate of four libras in money per libra when good, and at two libras in money per libra when bad as these are, amounting to .....	21-10
Ditto, sixty (seventy?)-one good cat ski nestimated at eight sueldos each .....	28-08
Ditto, seventeen bad cat skins estimated at four sueldos each ..	3-08
Ditto, twenty-five good <i>pichus</i> and fox skins estimated at thirty sueldos each .....	37-10
Ditto, nine good wolf skins estimated at thirty sueldos each ..	13-10
Ditto, a blanket <i>de tres puntos</i> estimated at twelve libras apiece (as the other ones) .....	12
Twenty-six good deer skins, with hair, estimated at the rate of fifty (forty?) sueldos each, amounting to .....	52
Two deer skins with the hair removed, (estimated) at fifty sueldos each .....	5
The total, seventeen thousand six hundred forty-three libras and ten dineros <i>moneda Francesa</i> .....	17643-10

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After having emptied until twelve o'clock and not having found more goods for inventory belonging to the confiscated goods of Ducharme, the present inventory was completed in eight written sheets (included here) whose goods had been at once divided in halves between the detachment composed of forty men, and Joseph Motard and Benito Basquez (Vasquez); the latter two on account of having made and risked on their own account, all the expenses of the useful supplies of war, food and other things necessary for the expedition; and the detachment as compensation for their work and for the "toil at the oars" and dangers of the undertaking. Neither the King nor any other person took part in the distribution of these confiscated goods other than the two aforementioned backers (*armadores*) and the previously mentioned detachment, excluding Senor Don Pedro Laclede Liquet and Don

Antonio Berard who ordered it (their exclusion from the distribution) because they had voluntarily yielded the share which belonged to them in favor of the detachment. In testimony of which, in order that it may be evident, where (proper), the aforementioned—Don Luis St. Ange, Don Antonio de Oro, Don Luis Picote Beletre, and el Señor Don Joseph Marie Papin, signed it (inventory) with me, as having attended in person at the making up of this inventory and its distribution. Done in St. Louis this day, the 31st of March, 1773. (Signed) —*St. Ange, Antonio de Oro, Picote Beletre, Joseph Marie Papin, Pedro Piernas.*

We have received all the goods and hides which the preceding inventory contains. We, who are, Don Pedro Laclede and Don Antonio Berrard (*sic*) as those in charge and chosen by all members of the detachment which was sent to the Missouri for the taking of the inventory (*precivo*) and distribution which is expressed on the part of the capture (*prisa*) which was effected on it (Missouri River) of the intruding trader, Juan Maria Ducharme. And we, Joseph Motard and Benito Basquez, for the part which belonged to us in our positions as backers (*armadores*) for the expenses and supplies which we have made on our own account and at our risk for the expedition and the maintenance of the Detachment, so agreed with Don Pedro Piernas, Lieutenant-Governor of these establishments.

And, in order that its verification may be manifest where proper, we signed it in St. Louis the 31st of March, 1773.

*Pedro Laclede Liquet, Antonio Berrard (sic) Joseph Motard, Benito Basquez, (Vasquez).*

I certify that this is a copy in conformity with the original which is in my possession in this post.

ST. LUIS, April 11, 1773,

PEDRO PIERNAS (rubric).

## DOCUMENT VII

A MINUTE WITHOUT ADDRESS OR SIGNATURE DATED,  
AUGUST 14, 1773<sup>1</sup>

In a letter dated April 12th,<sup>2</sup> Your Lordship enclosed the proceedings<sup>3</sup> which were produced against a certain Ducharme, an English trader from Canada, and the expedition which you had made to pursue him and that the latter (the Expedition) was made by Don Pedro La Clede, a resident at this post together with other soldiers, Your Lordship offering them at their risk and venture, the capture of the armament as a relief for the Royal Treasury.

Since the capture of the aforesaid Ducharme was not successful Your Lordship complained to the English Commander, which (complaint) you reported enclosing a copy of the letter and its reply.<sup>4</sup>

The companions of the latter (Ducharme) were delivered up under the promise that they would be forgiven. All this is right except the complaint that Your Lordship made so diffusely to the aforesaid *English Commander*. It is not necessary to resort to treaties of peace or to spend such a long time to complain in any manner (at all) about delinquents in the territory of His Majesty. Immediately after some foreigner commits an offense he is considered a culprit in the territory in which he has committed it and he is subject to the laws of the Ruler, therefore the Englishman answered Your Lordship very well and in a few words.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>This is, undoubtedly, a draft of a letter of Unzaga to Piernas. It is in the *Archivo General de Indias*, Seccion, *Papeles de Cuba*, legajo 81.

<sup>2</sup>This refers to Piernas' letter to Unzaga, St. Louis, April 12, 1773, which is translated in the article which precedes the translations of these documents. It is in the *Bancroft Library*.

<sup>3</sup>See documents IV and V.

<sup>4</sup>Documents I and II.

<sup>5</sup>In this connection it is of interest to note what Ulloa had written to Gage in 1768:

"I have given the most strict Orders, to the Commanders of the different Posts, by no means to permit the Spanish Subjects to pass to the English (Side), nor to have any Commerce with them, except in particular cases of necessity requiring any to go, and then to have passports directed to the English

In the future Your Lordship will observe that whenever there is any subject of that jurisdiction or any foreigner who commits a serious offense, you should make an indictment against him, in which (indictment) the act with all its circumstances shall be recorded, and if the indictment proves that he is guilty of such an offense Your Lordship must send him with it, (the indictment) to the capital, his property remaining confiscated in order to determine the cause definitely by a consultation with the Assessor. Your Lordship should avoid all complaints with the English Neighbor, so that these (complaints) shall only be made when necessary and concerning things that deserve judicious and not punctilious attention because otherwise that would be discrediting ourselves.

May God keep Your Lordship for many years as I wish.  
August 14, 1773.

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Commander of the District to which they belong, under Penalty, that if they be found without one, they shall be entirely deprived of the rights of the Nation, and shall be Chastized by the English Chiefs at their Pleasure as the Breakers of the Peace and good Harmony that Subsists between the Two Powers, and as it introduces disorders in the Indian Nation prejudicial to the Service of the two Sovereigns. And as to our part, we shall proceed against them by seizing upon their Effects, and sending them to Prison, to a correspondent chastisement". Evidently, inferring the same rules should apply to British Subjects found under like conditions in the territories of His Catholic Majesty.

Ulloa to Gage, New Orleans, August 29, 1768. Printed in G. W. Alvord and C. E. Carter (editors) *Trade and Politics*, 386.

## HISTORICAL NOTES AND COMMENTS

Members of the bench and bar and students of government will find "Advisory Constitutional Opinions of the Missouri Supreme Court," by Buel Leopard Smith, a distinct contribution. The article is probably the first which has appeared in print dealing with this subject in its Missouri setting.

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The sketch of Francis P. Blair by C. B. Rollins is of significance to all interested in this noted politician. It seems strange that so few personal, first-hand descriptions of our leading men appear in print. They had friends, were entertained, and shared the hospitality of a people noted for free and easy living. Why are so few word pictures of them ever met with?

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"Experiences of Lewis Bissell Dougherty on the Oregon Trail," edited by Ethel Massie Withers, is good reading. The wealth of material and the simple, vivid language of the author make an exceptionally favorable impression. A second reading of these tales is almost as interesting as a first reading—a test not devoid of merit.

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"Public Opinion and the Inflation Movement in Missouri," by J. A. Leach, will repay any citizen for the reading. The contrasting reactions of debtor and creditor in good and bad times a half century ago are not without later parallels clothed in new garb. Generalizations are dangerous—they disappoint one so frequently in application—but this article, somehow, brings to mind a statement once made that the East was conservative because it was rich and that the East was rich because it was conservative. To return to Professor Leach's article, there is sympathy, poise and scholarship in his work.

The life of John Bradbury is known to relatively few persons, yet this adopted Missourian is a scientist of international repute and his work and name have endured for more than a century. Love of research in the field of botany urged him to give years of labor and to run the risks on river and plain in collecting and classifying plant specimens of the western world, when it still was *primaeval*. And, fortunately for posterity, he left record—a most readable account—of his travels and one of the best relations intact of Missouri's greatest, natural catastrophe—the New Madrid earthquake.

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"Ducharme's Invasion of Missouri" by Dr. Abraham Nasatir is concluded in this issue of the *Review*. The series should prove of value as source material for research workers. The author has contributed to Missouri's history much significant data on the later years of the Spanish regime. The *Review* is indebted to Dr. Nasatir for these fruits of his work and scholarship. Other valuable contributions by the author will appear in future issues of the *Review*.

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#### THE NATIONAL OLD TRAILS ROAD COMMITTEE, D. A. R.

The National Old Trails Committee of the Daughters of the American Revolution, of which Mrs. John Trigg Moss of St. Louis is national chairman, has turned from the completion of an ambitious program in coast-to-coast trail marking to the detailed study of *all* "old trails" in the country.

Mrs. Moss recently announced a national \$50 prize contest for the best state map showing the location of "old trails," accompanied by a paper setting forth their history. This contest has just closed. It is expected to stimulate interest in old roads and traces everywhere in the United States.

With the erection of the last of the 12 "Pioneer Mother" memorials placed in the various states through which the National Old Trails Road passes, and the adoption of the

new program of general "old trails" study, the committee has changed its name, being now simply the National Old Trails Committee, where before it was the National Old Trails Road Committee.

The story of the "Pioneer Mother" memorials is interestingly set forth in Mrs. Moss' report to the 38th Continental Congress of the National Society, Daughters of the American Revolution. It has particular interest in this state with its 302 miles of National Old Trails Road, for, as Mrs. Moss says, the program was "begun practically 20 years ago in Missouri by a group of women who, loving the history of the past, formed a committee to locate the old Santa Fe Trail in Missouri." From this beginning, a national program came into being, providing for the location of a coast-to-coast highway which should follow historic old roads. In various states the legislatures came to the assistance of the committee, and federal aid was sought in Congress. Various plans for marking the highway were evolved by the D. A. R., but the World War delayed the adoption of a comprehensive plan. Eventually, however, a fund was started and designs were considered. Mrs. Moss tells in her report the story of the memorial statue idea as she conceived it, and of its adoption by the organization as its final, definite plan for marking the National Old Trails Road.

The expense of erecting the 12 monuments, one of which is located at Lexington, Mo., was generously borne by local organizations, to a great extent, under the leadership of the National Old Trails Association, so that in a very real respect, the various states and localities in which the memorials stand have made possible the completion of the program. This is another example of the interest being shown locally in historical events and their commemoration.

The names of a number of Missouri women stand out in the story of the whole movement. The original committee for the location of the old Santa Fe Trail in Missouri was organized by Mrs. John Van Brunt. Mrs. R. B. Oliver, Miss Elizabeth Gentry, Mrs. George E. George, and Mrs. Moss



have been active in the program, as well as a number of others. Mr. John Van Brunt, Hon. W. P. Borland, Judge Harry S. Truman, Mr. Frank A. Davis, and Mr. A. Leimbach, sculptor, are Missouri men who have had outstanding roles in the work. The monuments were made in St. Louis, by the Algonite Stone Company. These and other Missourians, then, have contributed to this state's part in the creation and marking of the National Old Trails Road, an ambitious program which has now been realized, after some 20 years' effort.

#### IN RE BILL ANDERSON

Mr. Cyrus Thompson, Belleville, Illinois, writes under date of January 25, 1929:

In the January, 1929, issue of the *Review*, I was interested especially in the Bill Anderson controversy on pages 343 and following. I have taken more or less interest in Bill Anderson, since he was so much in evidence nearly sixty-six years ago, about which time I came very nearly falling into his hands, as a stripling of a boy, up on the old North Missouri railroad near Centralia.

In 1865 to 1875 I was living in Jefferson City, Missouri. I had a hunting acquaintance, a man by the name of H. C. Munger, now deceased. We were hunting ducks one day down along the Moreau and, when we stopped to eat our lunch, the subject of Bill Anderson's death was discussed by us. This may have been about 1867 or 1868. Munger told me he had belonged to a company of soldiers that was scouting around on Bill Anderson's trail. Finally they encountered him, and as Bill Anderson and his men charged down upon the company, or possibly were endeavoring to escape by riding past them, the captain of Munger's company told his men to withhold their fire until he shot Bill Anderson, which he intended to do. And the captain did as he told his men he was going to do—Bill Anderson was killed in that fight, shot through the head. If he told me his captain's name, I have forgotten it. This was about the substance of Munger's conversation with me on the subject and is very closely in accord with E. W. Howe's account.

Munger could have had no object in telling me what he did, without it had been the truth, and it was at a time soon after the death of Bill Anderson when the facts were fresh in the minds of the people.

The story that "Uncle" Bill Anderson died some years ago near Brownwood, Texas, aged eighty-four years, I place no credence in whatever. Someone of his men, or Quantrill's men, or possibly the Jesse James gang, may have gone to Texas and in later years may have said he was Bill Anderson, in order to gain some local notoriety; but at the time it was claimed he was killed there were too many persons who knew him and recognized his remains at the time he was buried for them to have been mistaken in Bill Anderson's identity.

If he had not been killed as supposed, he certainly would have continued his guerrilla activities, as the war was not over, and so far as I know, he was never seen or heard of any more around Orrick, Missouri, where he had previously been so much in evidence.

It appears to me the preponderance of evidence is overwhelmingly in support of the contention that he was killed, as reported, near Orrick, Missouri.

#### OLD NEWSPAPER FILES

The Society has done considerable work on the compilation of records concerning the location of early Missouri newspaper files still in existence. This data has been furnished mainly by editors. Doubtless there are many former editors or members of their families who have such material. Members of the Society who know of such files will confer a favor by writing us for blanks to be filled out with information concerning them. Information about newspapers no longer in existence will be gratefully received also.

Owners of such files who wish to learn about the Society's methods of preserving newspapers may benefit by its experience by writing it for information. The Society wishes to do everything possible to encourage the preservation of newspaper files because of their value in research work.

## INFORMATION DESIRED

Mrs. Lillian Prewitt Goodknight, 4455 Kahala Avenue, Honolulu, Hawaii, desires, information concerning Isaac Elam and wife, Margaret Lanham, whose children, William Curtis, Drusilla, Mary Francis, Matilda, and Martha Adaline Elam, were born 1837 to 1846 at Benton, Scott county, Missouri, also concerning Sylvester Lanham and wife, Jane (called Jennie) Estes, parents of Margaret Lanham, born December 12, 1812.

## MISSOURIANS ABROAD—VICTOR C. VAUGHAN

The death of Dr. Victor C. Vaughan, which occurred in Richmond, Va., on Thursday, November 21, has more than a passing interest for Missourians in general, and for Columbians in particular.

Dr. Vaughan was born at Mt. Airy, Randolph county, and received his B. S. degree from Mt. Pleasant College, after which he taught in Hardin College, his first experience in that line of work. He soon went to the University of Michigan, where he spent the remainder of his teaching life. For years he was the dean of the medical department, and to him, more than any other one man in the entire country, is due the improvement in medical education in the United States. When the Medical School at Johns Hopkins University was opened, a large portion of the faculty was recruited from the professors collected by Dr. Vaughan at Michigan, some of whom still hold their positions at the former University.

He was easily the greatest scientific man Missouri has ever produced, and this was recognized, to a certain extent at least, by the degree of Doctor of Laws which was conferred on him by the University of Missouri in 1923. The list of his achievements is entirely too long to give here, but it may be said that he was one of the first to recognize and to teach the importance of clean milk and clean foods. He gave especial attention to the communicable, or what are usually called contagious diseases, and was a lifelong student of immunity. His contributions were recognized not only in this country, but all over the scientific world, and he was given honorary degrees by many universities.

Among other positions which showed the respect in which he was held may be mentioned the presidency of the American Medical Association, and of the Association of American Physicians. He served through two wars, the Spanish-American, with the rank of major, and later division surgeon, and the World War, with the rank of colonel. In the latter, he had particular charge of the Division of Communicable Diseases.

Dr. Vaughan's wife was a native of Huntsville, Mo., and during the last few years, some of his very near relatives have been students at this University. Missouri has just cause for pride in claiming him and his family. His death is a great loss to this state, as well as to the scientific world.—Written by Dr. Mazyck P. Ravenel, in the *Columbia Missourian*, November 25, 1929.

#### MISSOURIANS ABROAD—FRED M. DEARING

Newspapers of January 28, 1930, carry the announcement of the appointment of Fred Morris Dearing as Ambassador to Peru. Mr. Dearing was born in Columbia, Missouri, November 19, 1879, and was graduated from the University of Missouri in 1901. Shortly thereafter he entered the United States diplomatic service, serving first as second secretary of the American Legation in Peking, China, from 1906 to 1909. He was then appointed secretary to the legation at Havana, Cuba, and subsequently served in the diplomatic service in London, Mexico City, Brussels, Madrid, Petrograd, then as Assistant Secretary of State from 1921 to 1922, and as Minister to Portugal from February, 1922, until his appointment as Ambassador to Peru.

#### MISSOURIANS ABROAD—LOUIS F. HART

Louis F. Hart, former Governor of Washington, died at Tacoma, Washington, on December 4, 1929. He was born in High Point, Missouri, in 1859. He was educated in the common schools and academies of Missouri. After studying law he was admitted to the bar in this state. In the late '80s he entered the practice of law in Snohomish county,

Washington, later moving to Tacoma. He was Grand Secretary of the I. O. O. F. for ten years.

## MISSOURIANS ABROAD—ROY T. DAVIS

On December 5, 1929, President Hoover announced the transfer of Roy T. Davis, of Columbia, Missouri, from the post of Minister to Costa Rica to a similar position in Panama. He was sworn in on January 28, 1930.

## EARLY NEWSPAPER ADVERTISEMENTS

## NOTICE.

A company of 17 men met at Ezekiel Williams', on the 4th of August destined to the westward. W. Becknell was chosen by a unanimous vote as Captain to the company. On the 18th inst. we are all to meet at Mr. Shaw's, in Franklin, where two Lieutenants will be elected. We have concluded that thirty men will constitute a company sufficiently strong to proceed as far as we wish to go. All those who signed their names to the first article, and did not appear on the 4th of this month, are excluded from going in this company, and excused from paying any fine. On the first day of September, the company will cross the Missouri at the Arrow Rock. Any persons who wish to go will do well to meet at the place appointed on the 18th. No signers will be received after that day.

W. BECKNELL.

August 14, 1821.

Reprinted from the Franklin *Missouri Intelligencer*,  
August 14, 1821.

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H. V. BINGHAM,

At the sign of the Square and Compass,  
northwest of the public square, in the town of

FRANKLIN, MISSOURI,

returns his grateful acknowledgments for the very liberal patronage he has received, as an *Inn Keeper*, since his establishment in Franklin.

He has procured an attentive Ostler, who he hopes, will give general satisfaction. As times are hard, he has reduced his prices accordingly. He hopes by his attention to travelers, etc., to merit a continuance of public support.

Franklin, August 10, 1821.

Reprinted from the Franklin *Missouri Intelligencer*, August 14, 1821.

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Young Ladies Seminary,  
Kept by the Religious Ladies, Established at  
ST. FERDINAND,  
Fifteen miles from St. Louis.

The Religious Ladies established at St. Ferdinand, give notice to the public, that to yield to the desire of persons who wish to confide to them the education of their children, the price of the boarding school is now reduced to \$100. In this the young ladies will be taught French and English Reading, Grammar, Writing, Arithmetic, History, Geography, Sewing and Embroidery.

They will moreover open an other boarding school in a separate building, for children whose parents cannot pay the above mentioned price; for this the board is only \$9 per quarter, *payable in advance*, either in cash or produce. The pupils will be taught French, English, Reading, Writing, the first rules of arithmetic and plain Sewing.

Finally they will continue their free school for day scholars, who will entirely be separated from the boarders and will be kept from 9 o'clock in the morning until 5 in the evening.—Reprinted from the St. Louis *Missouri Republican*, September 13, 1824. (The same notice was also printed in French.)

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FOR SALE

On Reasonable Terms,  
A SPANISH JACK,

Six years old, raised in the usual manner by a mare, and imported from Chihuahua by the way of Santa Fe. Applica-

tion may be made to James Walker, (in whose possession the animal now is), on the large Island six miles above Saint Louis, or at this office.—Reprinted from the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, October 25, 1824.

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#### ONE CENT REWARD

Will be given for the apprehension of my apprentice named JOSEPH SYLVESTER BUCHANAN, who has absented himself from my service. As said boy is both indolent and careless, the above is deemed a sufficient reward, without paying other charges of any kind.

EDWARD CHARLESS.

Reprinted from the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, October 25, 1824.

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#### WANTED

An APPRENTICE to the Printing business. Apply at this office.

Reprinted from the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, November 1, 1824.

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#### FEMALE ACADEMY

Mrs. Mary L. Elliott would respectfully inform the public that the term for which she was engaged as an instructress by the Rev. Mr. Giddings having expired, she intends opening a school on Monday, October 4th, at the room under the Baptist Church, and pledges herself that no exertion shall be wanting on her part to merit the public patronage. Mrs. E. proposes to teach Orthography, Reading, Writing, Geography, Grammar, History, Arithmetic and Needle Work, Marking, etc. Her terms for tuition will be for the first class \$5 per quarter, for the second class \$4 and for the small Misses \$3 per quarter.

Reprinted from the *St. Louis Missouri Republican*, December 13, 1824.

Notice is hereby given to all  
persons,

THAT CHRISTOPHER CARSON, a boy about 16 years old, small of his age, but thick set; light hair, ran away from the subscriber, living in Franklin, Howard county, Missouri to whom he had been bound to learn the saddler's trade, on or about the first of September last. He is supposed to have made his way towards the upper part of the state. All persons are notified not to harbor, support or assist said boy under penalty of the law. One cent reward will be given to any person who will bring back the said boy.

DAVID WORKMAN.

Franklin, October 6, 1826.

Reprinted from the Fayette, *Missouri Intelligencer*,  
October 12, 1826.

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#### GOOD OLD RYE WHISKEY

A quantity of good old RYE WHISKEY will be given for certificates for land in the Franklin District. Also a few casks of prime French brandy. For terms apply to the subscriber, living one and a half miles west of Richmond, on the Spanish Needle prairie.

John Thomson.

Reprinted from the Franklin, *Missouri Intelligencer*,  
July 31, 1821.

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#### FULLING

The subscriber will commence FULLING on the first of August next, and will attend to it until the 1st of December. All persons wishing to have work done in his line, will make application in time to have it finished by the 1st of December, as he does not expect to resume the business again for two years. Should he, however, he will give public notice.

All cloths for Boone County, will be received at E. M'Clelland's, Columbia.



He will attend at General Owen's, in Fayette, on the first Monday in every month, commencing on the first Monday in August.

He will full and color Janes brown for twelve and a half cents per yard.

WILLIAM M. BAKER.

Boone County, Mo., April 7, 1832.

41-6m.

Reprinted from the Columbia, *Missouri Intelligencer* April 14, 1832.

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#### ATTENTION GUARDS

You are ordered to parade Saturday the 7th inst., at 2 o'clock P. M. in dark pants, with 3 rounds blank cartridge, a general attendance requested. By order of the Captain.

T. J. Goforth, O. S.

Reprinted from the Jefferson City *Jefferson Enquirer*, November 5, 1840.

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#### "THE COUNTY ELECTION"

This celebrated painting of the Missouri artist, George C. Bingham, is about to be engraved by that eminent artist, John Sartain of Philadelphia. A copy of the engraving may be had for ten dollars, by addressing Prof. R. S. Thomas, Columbia, Mo.—Jefferson City *Jefferson Inquirer*, November 6, 1852.

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#### NOTES

Mrs. Susan Z. Harris of Cameron, who recently observed her 90th birthday anniversary, has more than an ordinary interest in her home town. Her father, Samuel McCorkle, was the founder of the Clinton county city in 1855 and named it after her grandfather, Judge Elisha Cameron of Liberty. The city park of Cameron, one of the civic prides of the town, was a gift of Samuel McCorkle....—Kansas City *Star*, January 12, 1930.

A movement is on foot to make a national park, with Pilot Knob, famous Ozark hill on which a Civil War battle was fought, as the chief attraction of the park.—St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, February 11, 1930.

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The University of Missouri has conferred 16,841 earned and 410 honorary degrees since its foundation in 1843. Of the honorary degrees only seven have gone to women, while about one-third, or 5,611 of the earned degrees have been conferred upon the so-called weaker sex.

Missouri University now bestows only one honorary degree, that of doctor of laws. No woman has ever received that title from the State University, but it has been conferred on 147 men.

The honorary degrees of doctor of medicine, master of arts, doctor of divinity, bachelor of arts, master of science, master of agriculture, doctor of philosophy and civil engineering, have been discontinued. The seven honorary degrees awarded women are all master of arts.

Earned degrees are offered in twenty-one classifications in ten schools—arts and science, education, medicine, agriculture, law, engineering, journalism, business and public administration, fine arts and graduate. Thirty-two degree classifications have been discontinued.—St. Louis *Globe-Democrat* January 24, 1930 (A. P.).

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The Missouri Pictorial section of the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, February 23, 1930, contains pictures of Farmington's oldest residence, erected in 1801, and used as the meeting place for the first county court of St. Francois county, and the Carter County Courthouse, built in 1871, and said to be the only wooden county courthouse in the State.

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"Georgia City, one of the oldest communities in Jasper county, is no more," reports the Kansas City *Times* of February 14, 1930. The village was platted March 23, 1868, by

the late John C. Guinn, multimillionaire who died near Carthage more than a year ago. In its heyday the village boasted two general stores, a blacksmith shop, postoffice and handful of dwellings. But now the county court has granted a petition presented by Mrs. Lottie Guinn Young asking that the streets and alleys of the platted village be vacated and the land formally be returned to farm acreage.

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The flag which rested at the masthead of the flagship of Rear Admiral R. E. Coontz in his last cruise around the world in command of a fleet has been placed in the Missouri Soldiers' and Sailors' Museum on the first floor of the state capitol building, according to the *Kansas City Star* of December 29, 1929.

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A corporation was formed December 17 by Springfield business men to establish a new town in Camden county near the site of the new 30-million-dollar Bagnell Dam. The town will be called Osage Beach.—*Kansas City Times*, December 18, 1929.

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The new Christian Union log church was dedicated recently at Halleys Bluffs, on the south bank of the Osage river in Vernon county, reports the *Kansas City Star* of December 29, 1929. The church is on the site of the earliest settlement in both Bates and Vernon counties. Many emigrants camped at this spot on their journeys westward. Among them Zebulon Pike, for whom Pike's Peak is named, is credited with having camped there. Also the location was the dwelling place of Osage Indians.

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Something of the odd character of Bryan Mullanphy, famed in his time as a wealthy eccentric and practical joker, is described in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of February 8, 1930. The article concerns his will which set aside a trust fund known as the Mullanphy Emigrant Fund, now amount-

ing to more than \$1,000,000. An editorial on the will appears in the same paper.

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With the selection of "Show Me" as the official motto of the 128th Field Artillery, Missouri National Guard, credit is given Col. Willard D. Vandiver, of Columbia, Missouri, as the originator of the phrase. The story of his first using it and its later widespread acceptance is recounted in the *Kansas City Star* of February 2, and the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of February 10, 1930.

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When Count Keyserling spoke of "the peasant-like quality of the Missourian," he was, as he explains in his letter to the *Post-Dispatch*, "paying him a compliment." He was using the word in its literal and European sense. He is in agreement, too, with the French savant and cosmopolitan man of letters, Andre Siegfried, that the peasant class "is the backbone of France." The dictionary, by the way, preferably defines peasant as "a small land owner, or lease holder, who tills the soil."

But the word is without repute in American connotation. Politically, it is not in our language. It savors of caste and fixed, hereditary inferiority which our philosophy denies, our practice has abolished and our immortal "declaration" forever disavows. It may be ventured, indeed, that an observer endowed with the normal quota of perception and manners would not employ the term.

It will be remarked, of course, that the Count will visit us again—that arrangements are now being made for his "next lecture tour in the United States." There is a future event to which, we are inclined to believe, some 120,000,000 of us are looking forward with practically no interest at all.—Editorial from the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, January 12, 1930.

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The *Kansas City Journal-Post* of December 29, 1929, reports that Nathaniel Sisson, Union veteran who blew the bugle call that officially stopped the Civil War, has just

officiated at the funeral of H. P. Childress, the Confederate veteran who is credited with blowing the last call for the Confederate army.

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The widow of William Clarke Quantrill died at the age of 82 in the Jackson County Home for the Aged, on January 9, 1930. She was Miss Kate King before her marriage, and thereafter was known as Kate Clarke.—*St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, February 6, 1930.

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A descriptive and historical sketch of Camp Clark, Missouri National Guard center at Nevada, appears in the *Nevada's Business* of October 1929, published by the Nevada Chamber of Commerce.

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"We'll Stick!" is the first of a series of stories on the experiences of St. Louis men during the World War, appearing in the *St. Louis Star* of January 24, 1930. This relates the story of the 128th Field Artillery of St. Louis deep in the Argonne. Don H. Thompson is the author.

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The "Missouri Birthday Calendar" which appears as a regular feature on the editorial page of the *Kansas City Journal-Post* "is an attempt to arrange chronologically brief biographies of Missourians of note, of the past and present. Many biographies are of natives—others are Missourians by adoption, by reason of long residence in the state or service for the state." Typical of these are the sketches of Zebulon M. Pike, John Baptiste Sarpy, Edward Augustus Faust and William Edward Beckman which appeared during the first two weeks of January, 1930.

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"Passing of the Passenger Pigeon," written by Wiley Britton, Missouri historian, appears in the *Jefferson City, Missouri Game and Fish News* of February, 1930. Although many pioneers recall having seen passenger pigeons in "flocks that would hide the sun" the species is now extinct.

The "Missouri Notes" of the *Kansas City Times* begins a series of sketches concerning Missouri newspaper editors and writers on February 10, 1930. The first sketch is about Frank H. Sosey, editor of the *Palmyra Spectator*, which was founded in 1839.

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A document of unusual rarity appears in the *Mid-America* of January, 1930, and is accompanied by a short descriptive article. Both are of interest to readers of the Review, for they concern Fort Orleans which was erected on the bank of the Missouri river by the French, serving as their frontier post from 1723 until 1728. This document is a map of the Fort and its surroundings drawn by Dumont De-Montigny. It was brought to light by the Baron Marc de Villiers, of Paris, France, who is the author of *La Decouverte de Missouri et l'Histoire de Fort Orleans (1673-1728)* published in Paris, 1925. The latter, compiled from authentic French sources, is regarded as possibly the most authoritative work on Fort Orleans yet published. It is conjectured that this map was drawn between 1725 and 1727. Two particularly interesting features of this map are: the Missouri river is shown to be flowing northeast near the fort, and there was a levee fifteen feet high which protected the Fort from the high water of the river.

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The *Georgia Historical Quarterly* of September, 1929, is devoted, in part, to the Pulaski Sesqui-Centennial Celebration honoring Count Casimir Pulaski, after whom a Missouri county and a street in St. Louis were named.

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"Lecture Trips and Visits of Mark Twain in Iowa" is the second article about Mark Twain to appear in the *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* from the pen of Fred W. Lorch. It is in the October, 1929, issue.

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"Cockrell's Missouri Brigade, C. S. A." was written by James E. Payne, of Dallas, Texas, for the *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville, Tennessee) of November, 1929.

"How the Louisiana Purchase was Financed," appears in the *Louisiana Historical Quarterly* of April, 1929. It was written by J. E. Winston and R. W. Colomb.

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"The Taking of Liberty Arsenal" written by James E. Payne, of Dallas, Texas, for the January, 1930, *Confederate Veteran* (Nashville, Tenn.) recounts the story of the capture of this Missouri arsenal by detachments from the two companies in Kansas City, one at Independence and one at Lexington.

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"Anglo-Spanish Rivalry on the Upper Missouri" by A. P. Nasatir, appears in the *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* of December, 1929.

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"Kearny and 'Kit' Carson as Interpreted by Stanley Vestal," appearing in the January, 1930, issue of the *New Mexico Historical Review*, is a critical review of *Kit Carson, a Happy Warrior of the Old West*, by Stanley Vestal. The article is by Thomas Kearny, and is based upon a study of many original documents. Another article which follows this one is "A Group of Kearny Letters." Kearny's body lies in St. George's Episcopal Cemetery in St. Louis.

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Something of the romantic and colorful career of Thomas Fitzpatrick, frontiersman, scout, guide, and leader among Ashley's men, has been brought to light by the researches of Prof. Leroy F. Hafen, of Denver, and W. J. Ghent. Although ranking with the highest of his contemporaries, Carson and Bridger, Fitzpatrick's work has never before been so carefully studied, as all existing data on him was fragmentary. Mr. Ghent has described his career in the *Washington Star*, and the *Kansas City Star* of February 19 has reprinted the article.

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Two attractive four-page circulars entitled "Boonville, The Cradle of History in the Middle West," are being distributed by the Boonville Rotary club. One of the folders

reviews in brief paragraphs the principal events in the history of Boonville and its vanished sister town across the river, Old Franklin. The other, equally well designed, lists under the headings "Past," "Present," and "Future" Boonville's salient facts. On the back is printed a mileage table for the use of travelers. Thus in 1930, Boonville is still serving its large traveling public, as it did in the days of the Boon's Lick road and the Santa Fe trail. Boonville is on the beaten path today as it was yesterday, and in these two booklets the town recognizes its past as one of its greatest assets. A prominent Missourian, visiting Scotland, commented that Burns and Scott were that country's greatest assets, material as well as spiritual. Their shrines attracted visitors and brought a measure of prosperity. Boonville is applying this principle to the exploitation of its own community. It is making more interesting the visits of its tourist public by the simple method of pointing out its past.

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*The Italians in Missouri*, by Giovanni Schiavo, is characterized by its author as "a brief account of the progress of the 'new' Italian immigrants in the State of Missouri." It is probably the first study to be made of the Italian immigration to America as it affects Missouri (and as Missouri affects the immigrants). At the same time, it is frankly a plea for the fair evaluation of the Italian element in Missouri's population and of the contribution that element has made to various phases of the state's history.

It is Mr. Schiavo's belief that sociological studies have tended too much to stress pathological conditions, and "thereby create, at least in the minds of laymen, false impressions, which lead to false generalizations." He seeks to treat of the normal life of Italians in Missouri.

Mr. Schiavo points out that some of the earliest figures in the history of St. Louis and Missouri were Italians, in fact, though they were known as either Spaniards or Frenchmen. Henry De Tonti, lieutenant of La Salle, and Francis Vigo, who aided George Rogers Clark in his conquest of the Northwest, are two of the outstanding examples he gives. He has



assembled a great deal of material on these men, as well as on lesser Italian figures of early times in Missouri, in his interesting historical chapters.

Several chapters are devoted to the Italians of St. Louis. Census figures and data gathered through personal investigation are used in tracing the main characteristics of the Italian immigration. This is followed by a study of the Italians today, in the various fields of endeavor: Business, art, music, medicine, law, etc. Religious and educational conditions are considered in their relationship to social progress among the people.

An interesting chapter is devoted to the Italian community at Knobview. It is followed by several chapters on Italians in Kansas City.

Photographs and biographical sketches supplement the work, which is published by the Italian-American Publishing Company (Chicago and New York).

Mr. Schiavo, while seeking to combat false impressions regarding the Italian immigration, is willing to let facts speak for themselves, for the most part. Insofar as he has done this, his book represents a considerable contribution to Missouri historical information, in a field that demands attention. In his consideration of the Italian element in the early French and Spanish population, he has opened up a particularly interesting field of research.

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A facsimile reproduction of Filson's "Kentucke," containing the so-called "Autobiography" of Daniel Boone, has been issued by the Filson Club as No. 35 of its Publications. In addition to the 118 pages of Filson's work, in facsimile, this volume includes a preface, a paged critique, a sketch of Filson's life, and a bibliography, all by Willard Rouse Jillson. A facsimile reproduction of Filson's "Map of Kentucke," made from what appears to be the earliest copy extant of the very rare 1784 edition, produced to accompany the original edition of the book, is inserted at the back of the volume, making it a complete duplicate of Filson's first historical offering. There is an Index and a guide to the map. The

volume is dated: Louisville, 1929. The first edition consists of 200 copies.

John Filson was Kentucky's "first historian and geographer." This book is "the cornerstone of Kentucky history." And it is generally credited that the two gave Daniel Boone his great fame. The book was published with the stamp of approval of the great woodsman himself; his name, followed by those of Levi Todd and James Harrod, appears on the subscription page, in sponsorship of the book and map. The story of his adventures, as set down by Filson from interviews with Boone, is the core of the work, and doubtless contributed greatly to its popularity. Boone was already famed as a hunter and frontiersman. His reputation was increased and spread by the wide circulation of Filson's book, at home and abroad.

The Boone narrative is presented in the first person, with "Daniel Boon" signed at the end. Filson wrote it, however, and the style was not his only contribution to the "autobiography." Thwaites wrote: "Wherever Boone's memory failed, Filson appears to have filled in the gaps from tradition and his own imagination." The result is not considered accurate in detail, at least.

But Filson was a good observer, and, according to Dr. Jillson, "he still affords the best early general view of the entire Kentucky country," being, in addition, "in no minor way a prophet." His description of the new land back of Virginia and his data for the use of travelers and settlers have great historical, as they then had practical, value.

Dr. Jillson's paged critique is helpful. However, his suspicion of the influence of Burns in the philosophy credited by Filson to Daniel Boone may be questioned. Filson's book was published in 1784. Burns' first book was published in 1786.

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#### ANNIVERSARIES AND MEMORIALS

A memorial statue of Gen. Nathaniel Lyon was unveiled on Camp Jackson Plaza, Grand and Pine Boulevards, St. Louis, on December 22, 1929, reports the *St. Louis Post-*

*Dispatch* December 24, 1929. It was erected by the Camp Jackson Union Soldiers' Monument Association at a cost of \$15,000. The sculptor was Erhardt Siebert, of St. Louis.

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The John M. Malang memorial tablet which was dedicated January 11, 1930, in the State Capitol building was described in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of December 25, 1929, and January 13, 1930. It consists of a life size bust in a wreath of hawthorn blossoms, and various grains and fruits. The tablet bears this inscription:

"John M. Malang, 1866-1928. Road Builder—Legislator—Orator—Leader—Originator of the State-wide, connected system of hard surfaced public highways.

"Author of the 'Missouri Plan' for financing, completing, maintaining and extending thereof as embraced in the amendment to the constitution adopted by the people, November, 1928"

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August 25, 1929, the members of the Presbyterian Church at Liberty, Missouri, celebrated the 100th anniversary of the founding of their church. This was the first Old School Presbyterian Church to be established in Clay county. It was organized in a grove at the corner of Morse avenue and Kansas street, August 29, 1829, with sixteen members. The Rev. Hiram C. Chamberlain assisted by N. B. Dodge of Harmony, Missouri, presided at the organization meeting and became the first minister. The present church building is the third used by the congregation, and was erected in 1888-89. There are now 280 members of this church. Accounts of the celebration and historical sketches of the church appear in the *Kansas City Times*, August 24; the *Liberty Tribune*, August 22; and the *Liberty Advance*, August 26, 1929.

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The Evangelical Lutheran Church at Uniontown, Missouri, celebrated the ninetieth anniversary of its founding on February 9, 1930, according to the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* of February 8.

The towns of Canton and LaGrange, both in Lewis county, are to celebrate the centennial of their founding during the present year, according to the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* of February 21, 1930. The original plat of Canton was filed February 15, 1830, and that of LaGrange on May 5, 1830. The article describes the growth of these two towns.

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The W. C. T. U. of St. Louis held its fiftieth anniversary celebration on January 16, 1930. A resume of its activities during the last fifty years appears in the *St. Louis Star* of January 16, 1930.

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Restoration of several rooms in the old country home of Henry Shaw in Shaw's Garden has been completed as a memorial of the private life and interests of the founder of the garden. Old furniture, books, journals, portraits, and bric-a-brac which belonged to Mr. Shaw have been reassembled to refurnish the rooms where he lived for so many years, and to recreate the atmosphere of more than forty years ago....—*St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, January 17, 1930.

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The 75th Anniversary Edition of the *Kansas City Journal-Post* appeared December 31, 1929. It is the successor of the *Kansas City Enterprise* which was established in October, 1854. It became the *Journal of Commerce*, then the *Daily Journal*. The latter purchased the *Post* in 1922 and in October, 1928, adopted the present name. The Anniversary number consists largely of a rotogravure section in which there are pictures showing the development and growth of Kansas City and its institutions.

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The special industrial edition of the *Independence Examiner* of January 3, 1930, recounts the history of the paper from the time of its establishment in 1898.

## PERSONALS

**JAMES OWEN ALLISON:** Born near New Hartford, Missouri, July 23, 1855; died in Hannibal, Missouri, January 24, 1930. He was educated in the public schools, Van Rensselaer Academy, and the State Normal School, at Kirksville, being graduated from the latter in 1882. From there he went to the University of Missouri. He taught school in Ralls county and was superintendent of public schools in New London for two years. He was elected county school commissioner of Ralls county, and served for two years. In 1884, 1886 and 1888 he was elected representative from Ralls county in the General Assembly. He studied law at home and in 1890 was elected prosecuting attorney of Ralls county, serving for two terms. He took a prominent part in Democratic political circles, and was a member of the state committee in 1896, and was chosen presidential elector in 1908. He was chosen by Governor Dockery as a commissioner of the World's Fair in 1904. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1922-23, and a member of the Board of Regents of the Northeast Missouri State Teachers College. His home was in New London.

**WILLIAM DAWSON:** Born in New Madrid county, Missouri, on March 17, 1848; died at New Madrid, Missouri, October 12, 1929. He was graduated from Christian Brothers' College, of St. Louis. During his last year of study there he taught some, remaining as a teacher for one year. In 1870 he was elected sheriff and collector of New Madrid county, being re-elected in 1872. In 1878 he was elected as representative from his native county in the General Assembly, and served for three terms. He was then admitted to the bar in New Madrid county, where he practiced law. In 1884 he was elected to Congress from the 14th District. From 1900 to 1904 he served as bond clerk in the office of the state auditor, and in 1914 was circuit clerk.

**JOHN B. DEMPSEY:** Born in St. Louis, Missouri, April 29, 1861; died in St. Louis, Missouri, November 3, 1929. He was educated in the public schools and a commercial college

in St. Louis. For a time he was a carpenter, and for several years was secretary of the state and district assemblies of the Knights of Labor. He served two terms in the state legislature, beginning in 1889, being elected on the Union Labor ticket. Following his term of office he devoted himself to the practice of law and to charity work. He was actively identified with the St. Vincent de Paul Society and the Knights of Columbus.

**JOHN M. GLOVER:** Born in St. Louis, Missouri, June 23, 1852; died in Pueblo, Colorado, October 20, 1929. He was graduated from Washington University, St. Louis, and then spent a short time in Colorado for his health. He returned to St. Louis and after studying law for one year began the practice of his profession in partnership with Judge C. S. Hayden. This partnership lasted until Judge Hayden moved to Boston, one year later. Mr. Glover was the youngest counsel in the celebrated Frank James trial at Gallatin in the fall of 1883. He served as representative in the forty-ninth and fiftieth Congresses, being elected in the 9th district in 1884 and 1886. He had lived in the West for thirty years before his death.

**ASHLEY H. HARRISON:** Born in Crawford county, Missouri, September 11, 1869; died near Kingdom City, Missouri, December 11, 1929. He was educated in the public schools of his native county and the high school at Springfield. He served two terms as prosecuting attorney of Crawford county, represented the county in the House of Representatives in the 40th General Assembly, and was a member of the Republican State Committee for several years. He was elected a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1922-23 from the 34th Senatorial District. In 1925 he was appointed a member of the State Tax Commission by Governor Baker. Later he was appointed chairman of the State Penal Board. His home was in Steelville. He was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**DAVID R. KERR:** Born at Cadiz, Ohio, March 2, 1850; died at Topeka, Kansas, December 29, 1929. He was president of the University of Omaha, 1891-1904; president of

Bellevue College, near Omaha, 1916-18; and president of Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, from 1904 to 1911. He was associate president and part owner of the Beechwood School for Women, at Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, from 1912 to 1916. He also held several pastorates in the Presbyterian Church from time to time. He retired from teaching in 1922.

MRS. GEORGE A. MAHAN (nee Ida Dulany): Born at Paris, Missouri, July 20, 1858; died at Hannibal, Missouri, January 27, 1930. She moved with her parents to Quincy, Illinois, where they lived until she was about twelve years old. They then moved to Hannibal, where she spent the remainder of her life. On May 24, 1883, she was married to Mr. George A. Mahan. To this union was born one son, Daniel Dulany, now an attorney. Mrs. Mahan was an honorary member of the Woman's Club of Hannibal, a member of Chapter BR, P. E. O., and of Hannibal Chapter, D. A. R. She was the founder of the Home Economics Club of Hannibal, in 1914. During the World War she took an active part in Red Cross and charity work. She, with Mr. Mahan, was the donor of Mark Twain's boyhood home to the City of Hannibal, and subsequently erected a statue to Huckleberry Finn and Tom Sawyer.

WILLIAM GWATHMEY MANLY: Born at Greenville, South Carolina, April 13, 1862; died at Columbia, Missouri, November 28, 1929. He was graduated from Harvard University in 1890, and immediately joined the faculty of the University of Missouri. He served as chairman of the Greek department, and professor of Greek language and literature. Dr. Manly was one of the organizers of the old Missouri Valley Conference, an athletic body, and served as its secretary more than twenty years. He was secretary of the Missouri Valley Intercollegiate Conference at the time of his death. He had been an official in the University athletic governing body for many years.

JOSEPH MOGLER: Born in Jackson, Missouri, in 1876; died in St. Louis, Missouri, December 2, 1929. He was educated in the schools of his native town. He served as a

member of the Republican State Committee for ten years, and in 1926 was elected to the State Senate, being re-elected in 1928. He was a theatre owner and manager.

DAVID NELSON: Born in Cincinnati, Ohio, January 24, 1860; died in St. Louis, Missouri, December 15, 1929. He came to Missouri at the age of eight and was educated in the public schools of St. Louis. He was active in Democratic political circles, and was elected to the State Senate from the thirty-second district in 1903, and re-elected in 1905.

MOSES N. SALE: Born in Louisville, Kentucky, October 17, 1857; died in St. Louis, Missouri, January 29, 1930. He was educated in the schools of Louisville, receiving the A. B. degree from the University of Louisville and that of LL. B. from the law department. He was admitted to the state bar in Kentucky in 1879, and moved to St. Louis in September, 1881. In November, 1903, he was appointed by Governor A. M. Dockery to fill the unexpired term of Judge Franklin Ferris, resigned, and was elected at the November, 1904, election for a term of six years. He was elected circuit judge in November, 1928, for a term of six years. During the World War he served as chairman of the Draft Board in St. Louis.

COLIN McRAE SELPH: Born in Richmond, Virginia, July 16, 1864; died in St. Louis, Missouri, December 26, 1929. He was educated in the schools of New Orleans, Louisiana, and Richmond, Virginia. For a time he was a member of the 3rd Company, Texas Rangers, 2nd Regiment. He moved to St. Louis in 1886 and conducted a news stand and circulating library. From 1889 to 1899 he was advertising solicitor for the *Post-Dispatch*, then became business manager of the *Kansas City Times*. During the World's Fair he published the official *Bulletin*, then became active in politics. He served as deputy sheriff, deputy county clerk, and deputy district clerk, and in 1903 represented the St. Louis district in the General Assembly. In 1904 he organized the St. Louis Democratic Club, and the following year was admitted to the bar. He was a delegate to the Democratic State Con-



ventions in 1904, 1906, and 1908. In 1913 he was appointed postmaster of St. Louis by President Wilson and served until 1922. During this time he edited the *Postoffice Bulletin*, and in 1915 he became president of the National Association of Post Masters of the first and third class. During the World War he was a special assistant postmaster general.

**JAMES A. STURGIS:** Born in Macoupin county, Illinois, August 26, 1850; died in Pineville, Missouri, January 2, 1930. He was admitted to the bar in Illinois, and entered practice there, later moving to Kansas. While living there he had the distinction of incorporating the city of Pittsburg. He moved to a farm near Hart, Missouri, in 1881, and then to Pineville in 1888. He was elected presiding judge of the McDonald county court and served from 1888 to 1890. In 1903 and 1904 he was prosecuting attorney, then resumed his private practice. In 1897 he published a history of McDonald county.

**LOUIS THEILMANN:** Born at Cincinnati, Ohio, in 1862; died at Boonville, Missouri, December 29, 1929. He early became identified with educational work, serving successively as superintendent of schools in Kingston, Clinton, Appleton City, Breckenridge, Bonne Terre, and New Madrid. He was appointed Superintendent of the Missouri Reformatory at Boonville, in October, 1929, by Governor Caulfield, and was serving in this capacity at the time of his death. His home up to that time had been in Cameron. Mr. Theilmann was a member of the State Historical Society of Missouri.

**CARL GUSTAVE WALDECK:** Born in St. Charles, Missouri, in 1869; died in St. Louis, Missouri, February 16, 1930. He was educated in St. Louis, studying in the School of Fine Arts and later in the Academie Julian, Paris, under Jean Paul Laurens and Benjamin Constant. He established a studio in St. Louis in 1887 and painted portraits and landscapes. He was a member of the Paris Academy, and had received many medals and awards for his distinguished work. He painted the portraits of a number of St. Louisans, and of several of the governors of Missouri. His home was in Kirkwood, Missouri.

## MISSOURI HISTORY NOT FOUND IN TEXTBOOKS

### CIVIL WAR INCIDENTS

Written by Douglass Stewart in the Chillicothe *Constitution-Tribune*,  
February 10, 1930.

The presence of G. Bower Slack in our city brings back to those of us who can remember the stirring times of the Civil war in which General William Y. Slack of this city (Bower's father), took such a prominent part on the Confederate side.

I recall seeing him at the head of a regiment enter the little village of Spring Hill where a company of some one hundred men had been drilling for days to join his regiment. Among this company were Black Martin, uncle of Charles Martin of this city, Mr. Duncan, a wagon maker, of Spring Hill, and James "Pad" Minnick and Henry "Hute" Huston Fraser of near Sampsel. Black Martin and Duncan were killed in the battle of Wilson's Creek.

It has been reliably stated that during that battle James "Pad" Minnick called a companion's attention to an officer on a white horse and said: "Watch me pick that fellow off." He fired and General Lyon toppled from his horse. Minnick was killed in the same battle.

"Hute" Fraser procured some of the hairs from the tail of Lyon's horse and brought them back with him to his home near Sampsel. Later he made a fiddle bow of them and kept it in use for many years.

### BITS OF PLATTE COUNTY HISTORY

Excerpts from the Supplement to the Weston *Chronicle* of November 15, 1929.

Quite a few people had located at a point known later as Rialto as early as 1819, soon after the first Government steamers explored the then navigable Missouri. When some of the "squatters" began selling liquor to the soldiers stationed at Fort Leavenworth, founded in 1827, the government drove most of them off this settlement, permitting only Zadock Martin and his sons to remain. They operated the ferries across the Platte and Missouri rivers and Martinsville was named in their honor. About a mile below Weston the great rock to which the ferries were tied may still be seen, though all but a corner of it has long since been covered with rich overflow silt.

Settlers choked the roads into the county in 1837-38 and '39; by 1840 when the State had a rate of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  people to the square mile, Platte county had 20.....

In 1840 Captain Andrew Johnson gave a piece of land for an Old-School Baptist Church, called Unity, and later named Flintlock. It is still standing and is located just to the left of Highway 71 about three miles from Tracy.....Captain Johnson was a veteran of the War of 1812 and came of a valiant family.....

On November 16, 1839 at a meeting at Martinsville, it was decided by a board of commissioners (Samuel Hadley and David O. Lucas) that the Falls of Platte (later Platte City) be the seat of justice of Platte county. The first county court justices were Michael Byrd, John B. Collier, and Michael McCafferty. The first session was held March 11, 1839, in the tavern house of Michael D. Faylor.....

The first circuit court was held at the log cabin of M. D. Faylor in the Falls of Platte, March 25, 1839, by Judge Austin D. A. King. Among the lawyers enrolled that day were D. R. Atchison, A. W. Doniphan, John A. Gordon, Wm. B. Almond, and Peter H. Burnett.....

Because St. Joseph takes credit for the Pony Express and capitalizes upon its connection with that city dating from 1860, many people think that the Pony Express originated at St. Joseph. However, historians know that the Holladay Brothers were the Pony Express founders and that it started in Weston. Its eastern terminus was located about the middle of west Thomas Street. Its western terminus was Salt Lake City. Ben Holladay, who was the owner and manager, lived in what is now known as the George Hull home. In 1860, when the Burlington Railroad was built in St. Joseph, thereby bringing the supplies from the east to that city, the Pony Express moved to Buchanan county and made the overland trip from there.....

#### TEXAS WOULD HONOR MOSES AUSTIN

From the *Kansas City Times*, February 5, 1930.

Moses Austin has been dead for almost a century (d. June 10, 1821) and his body lies beneath a simple marble slab in the Potosi cemetery. With clock-like regularity the gesture is made by Texas officials to remove the body of the once famous Missourian to an honored place at Austin, Tex., where it might rest beside his son, Stephen F. Austin, a pioneer in Texas.

But every time the movement is met with stern opposition and Austin's grave at Potosi remains a shrine visited by everyone who goes that way and who knows something of what he did to open the lead and zinc mining industry in Missouri.

About 1797 the Spanish governor, Trudeau, granted to Moses Austin a league, or nearly 5,000 acres, of land on what is now the site of Potosi. There was no cash paid by Austin, who had just come out from Connecticut. He agreed to start mining the tract, and if lead was found he would erect smelters, a shot tower and develop the mining field, then owned by the Spaniards. Austin had been a successful miner in West Virginia before coming west.

Austin became the most prominent man in the mining district, because he knew his business and had sufficient capital to make development. He made it pay, too, for between 1798 and 1816, according to well preserved records he mined and smelted into sheet lead, bullets and cannon balls more than 9 million pounds of lead.

Austin, in addition to building a huge smelter and shot tower on the present site of Potosi, also erected a mansion which he called Durham Hall. It was, indeed, an imposing castle and was the largest and finest in the lead belt.

The first sheet lead and the first cannon balls ever made in Missouri were turned out by Austin about 1800. All of his lead was sold to the Spanish government at New Orleans. As there were no railroads, the lead was transported on pack animals or in small, wooden-wheeled carts to Ste. Genevieve, thence boated down the big river to Spanish fortresses.

When the Spaniards evacuated Upper Louisiana—as this section was then known—Austin tired of mining. His source of revenue from sale of bullets had gone, and the traces of silver which he had encountered from time to time in the veins of lead, did not materialize to be of great value.

So Austin went down to Mexico and formed an arrangement with the government to act as colonization agent for them. He was to be given one league of land for every family he settled along the Gulf Coast district, and the settler also was entitled to a league. His grant covered several million acres, to be parcelled out to him as he brought in the settlers.

But Austin only made one trip, and returned to Missouri where he became ill and died. His son, Stephen F. Austin, was then about 25 years old, and he took up the colonization work where his father left off and succeeded in taking hundreds of Missouri families to Texas, then under Mexican rule.

Texas claims Austin should be honored by them as its first colonization agent, but there are many difficulties about moving the body of a deceased without legal permits.

#### 99-YEAR LEASE EXPIRES

From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, February 16, 1930.

The approaching expiration on April 1 of the first 99-year lease to run its course in St. Louis confronts the Archdiocese of St. Louis with unusual problems concerning what to do with the property.

The lease covers the entire half-block north of the Church of St. Louis of France (the Old Cathedral), the south side of Market street between Second and Third streets. It was made by a church committee of the old village of St. Louis to finance the erection of the structure, completed in 1834 to replace a brick cathedral which Bishop Rosati feelingly described as "barn-like."

Most 99-year leases present no such difficulties as this one, since they leave improvements to revert to the owner. But this century-old document stipulates otherwise.

It provides for the selection, at the end of its term, of two "discreet and disinterested" men who are to choose a third. This committee is to set a value upon the improvements, which the archdiocese must purchase if it wishes to terminate the lease.

The committee is to evaluate the ground and determine rentals if the lessees desire an extension. But if the archdiocese wishes to end the lease and is not prepared to purchase the buildings it must grant a 99-year lease at the present rental with, however, the privilege of terminating it whenever it is ready to pay for the improvements.

Improvements are a row of three-story buildings, in character with the rest of that section, which has been passed in the westward movement of the business district. Altogether they are assessed for purposes of taxation at \$43,500, while the ground is assessed \$6000 higher. The most valuable of the buildings, which are 20 to 40 years old, is assessed at \$12,000. The leasehold is in the hands of the six occupants of the half-block, a variety of business establishments.

Rental for the entire parcel, 110 by 322 feet, is \$1050 a year. By a commonly accepted computation of rental, as 6 per cent of value, the land in 1831 was worth \$17,500. The rental, for the 99 years, total \$103,950. The church cost \$85,000.....

St. Louis, Carondelet, St. Charles, Cahokia and other French settlements had been laid out in the continental style—a square village flanked by commonfields of long, narrow farms and an outlying commons for grazing. Under acts of the Legislature, town boards of the young United States leased out commons for 99 years and longer. Many such leases were made in the old St. Louis commons south of Mill Creek, but owners obtained title to these lots in fee many years ago.

Title examiners still occasionally encounter a 99-year lease on commons of old Carondelet, most of which is now within the southern limits of St. Louis, and in St. Ferdinand, now part of Florissant. The existence of 999-year leases in St. Charles is an active and present annoyance to the town.

Grounds for the annoyance may readily be understood by contemplating 999 years of bookkeeping on items of a few cents a year. An example is an original document in the files of Benjamin Emmons who was Justice of the Peace in St. Charles a century ago. This 999-year lease, dated June 19, 1831, was for \$4.92 a year on 77 acres.

Ten valuable acres, between Fifth, Sixth, Clark and Decatur in St. Charles were leased in the same period for 999 years at \$1.90 an acre. The rate on the St. Charles leases was 4 per cent of the value, as estimated by the town board.

About half the 999-year leases on the old commons have been terminated, and the city of St. Charles is anxious to end the others and the overcostly bookkeeping. The leaseholder may obtain title in fee by paying the town the valuation upon which the deed was based.

The St. Charles trustees in 1822 attempted without authority to make a 10,000-year lease, but even that term is unimpressive in comparison with

the leases which have provided the neat church and school, the streets and granitoid sidewalks, in another St. Charles county town, Portage des Sioux. These leases are perpetual. Under an ordinance adopted in 1855 Portage des Sioux sold perpetual leases on all its common lands for 6 per cent of valuation to be assessed anew every 20 years. This revenue frees the town of all school and municipal taxes.

Leaseholders in the old French commons of Carondelet and St. Ferdinand usually obtain title in fee as soon as a title examiner discovers the existence of a lease. Former County Judge Wiethaupt, treasurer of Florissant, still has on his books 19 leases, both 99-year and 999-year, for the commons of the old village of St. Ferdinand, which pay into the town treasury a few cents an acre every year.....

#### GRASSHOPPERS!

From the Franklin, *Missouri Intelligencer*, Aug. 14, 1821.

Extract of a letter from Fort Osage, dated June 15, 1821.

Immense swarms of grasshoppers are overrunning this whole country, and literally eating it up—Our gardens are nearly all destroyed, and we have no reason to hope that any thing will be saved of them: Without some Providential interference, I can see no escape from all the distressing consequences of a general and utter failure of our grain crops. This plague seems to be evidently progressing south-eastwardly, so that you may count upon a similar visitation next fall. Those who can secure two years supply of grain from the present crops ought to do so by all means: You had better prepare for the coming evil—practice economy in feeding away corn, &c. save plenty of forage in order to save grain.—St. L. Reg.

#### HISTORIC CHURCHES OF SOUTHEAST MISSOURI

From the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, December 30, 1929.

..... Within a short distance of Jackson, Missouri, four Protestant denominations established the first churches of their respective faiths west of the Mississippi river. Each, as might be expected, has been the parent of many another organization of like faith in the western country.

In the days of 1806..... a group of strong-hearted pioneers of religion founded a Baptist church two miles south of Jackson. There, today, a stone marker designates the spot—a combination of virgin forest and rural cemetery—as the site of the first non-Catholic place of worship west of the Mississippi river.

A mile out Highway 61 toward the east on the road once the old El Camino Real, an arrow marker points northwest to "Old McKendree." A little more than a mile up that country road are to be found both the site and building where a group of Methodists began their worship a dozen decades ago.

A third site of early worship is to be found in the Fruitland community a few miles north of Jackson. There, in another grove, Presbyterians

now have the third building used by five or six generations as a place of worship. The first building was built nearly a century ago.

The Lutherans selected a Perry county community, a few more miles farther north, as the place for their stronghold. At Altenburg, in 1839, their first college west of the Mississippi was organized. Soon a church for the denomination was erected and the Perry County Visitation Circuit was organized in 1847.

The dozens of churches and Lutheran preparatory schools and colleges in Southeast Missouri and larger adjacent territory bespeak the success of the humble beginning. That tiny log cabin church school was the mother institution to no less than 18 colleges and seminaries now operating. The largest of the group, Concordia, at St. Louis, is an institution the plant of which cost \$3,000,000.

Of the old Baptist church—widely known as Old Bethel—there remains little today in a material way or as concerns history. One must leave Highway 25 a short distance south of Jackson and drive through private roads less than a mile in going toward the isolated site of the church. Visitors even have to leave their automobiles and walk several hundred yards across farm pastures and cultivated fields to reach the clump of trees marking an old cemetery with scattered gravestones, many toppled out of line.

In the middle of the plot is found the big stone which marks the exact place where organized Protestant worship was first conducted beyond the Mississippi. On the face of the stone are these words: "Here Stood Bethel Baptist Church, the First Permanent Non-Catholic Church West of the Mississippi River." The date—July 19, 1806, is given, as well as the name of David Green, first pastor of the church.....

As for McKendree, the direct parent church of the present McKendree Methodist church in Jackson, its beginning was in 1809—with rough and ready circuit riders—just 13 (11) years before Missouri was granted statehood. McKendree has claims of its own for a place in Western history of churches. It was the initial Methodist church this side of the Father of Waters, and between its walls was conducted the first Methodist conference for this half of the present United States. It was in 1819 that that Conference took place, little being recorded of it other than the fact that it was held and the date.....

Old Apple Creek Church, Presbyterian, had its beginning on a wooded hill a few hundred yards from Fruitland, eight miles north of Jackson, just 108 years ago. Before the present church was erected two other buildings were built by the congregation. The initial one was a log cabin, ready for use in 1821, and used until twelve years later. The second lasted until 1874 when it gave way for the modern house of worship still in use.

This Presbyterian church was organized by the Rev. Salmon Giddings in May, 1821, he being one of the pioneer ministers of the denomination in the Middle West. The membership at that time included 50 persons, Mitchell Fleming, John Harris, John Gilliland and Samuel Anderson being

elected and ordained elders. Records show that pew rent was collected during the early days of the church. Also the Rev. John Matthews, one of the early preachers, served as half-time pastor, at a salary of \$150 annually. Half of his salary was in cash and the balance in farm produce at market prices.....

At Altenburg, 15 miles north from the site of Old Apple Creek site is to be found a Lutheran church and school headed by the Rev. A. A. Vogel, present pastor, which institutions are direct offsprings of the first denominational school west of the Mississippi. There, in 1839, a handful of followers of Luther erected a small log cabin which is today being preserved by the Perry County Historical Society.

In 1849 the college was transferred to St. Louis and later to Fort Wayne, Ind..... No seminary remains at Altenburg, but a preparatory school and the Evangelical Lutheran Church stand on the same ground occupied by that little college.....

*(Editor's Note:*

The first Presbyterian church in Missouri was organized by the Rev. Salmon Giddings at Bellevue, Washington county, August 3, 1816. It is probable, therefore, that the first church of this denomination in the State was built at this place, rather than in Cape Girardeau county. The second Presbyterian church in the State was organized by Mr. Giddings at Bonhomme in St. Louis county, October 18, 1816.

It is interesting to note, in connection with the above article that there was a congregation of the Lutheran (German-Reformed) Church near Jackson, Cape Girardeau county, in 1804. Houck, in his *History of Missouri* (Vol. III, pp. 205-206) says that as early as the autumn of 1803, a Lutheran minister, the Rev. Samuel Weyberg, came to Upper Louisiana from North Carolina and preached to the Germans settled in that region "one of the first Protestant sermons, certainly the first German Protestant sermon, in Upper Louisiana....." He continued to hold services in the homes of settlers from that time, and in 1805 brought his family from North Carolina to this German settlement along Whitewater river. Houck quotes the son of Samuel Weyberg, John C. Weyberg,—"the only chronicler... of these Swiss-German pioneers"—as writing that the church was well organized in 1812. No mention is made of the first church building or the date of its erection.)

MISSOURI'S GHOST RAILROADS

Written by L. R. Grinstead for the Jefferson City, *Missouri*, December, 1929.

... One of the railroads which was never built, and which might have greatly changed the transportation facilities of northern Missouri, was the road originally chartered as the Canton & Bloomfield (Iowa) Railroad. This road was planned to start at Canton, Lewis county, Mo., and run to Bloomfield, Davis county, Iowa.



This road was chartered by the State Legislature of Missouri some time in the late fifties and work was actually begun on it in 1860. The town of Canton voted aid for it in the shape of \$30,000 in 10 per cent bonds. Grading and bridging were done northwest out of Canton before the close of the year, some iron was laid, and a locomotive and cars were brought in on steamboats. By the close of the year a construction train had run as far to the northwest as Bunker Hill. The opening of the Civil war put a stop to all further work, and for the next few years the lone engine used on the partially completed road stood upon the track at Tully, a little village just north of Canton.

In the fall of 1864 the residents of Canton were thrown into a flurry when a steamboat loaded with Federal soldiers put in there and the soldiers began taking up the iron rails that had been laid. When the citizens remonstrated they were told by the officer in charge that the owners of the road had sold the rails to the Government who would use them in railroad construction in the South.

A deputation of citizens went hurriedly to St. Louis where they laid a remonstrance before Gen. Rosecrans, then in command of the Department of Missouri. The General seems to have acted very fairly in the matter and told the deputation that while he had no authority to stop the removal of the rails it would be unjust for them to have to lose the \$30,000 in bonds they had subscribed. He held that the bonds should be surrendered back to the town of Canton before the rails were removed, and when this was done the Canton citizens were partially reconciled to the loss of their railroad.

In 1866 the road was rechartered with a slight deviation in route, but no further steps in building were taken. In 1868 the road was again rechartered, this time with the terminus and the name changed. Under the new charter the eastern terminus was to be West Quincy, just across the river from Quincy, Ill., and the western terminus was to be Brownsville, Nebraska. The name of the road was to be the Mississippi and Missouri River Air Line Route, and the road was to run entirely across the state through the northern tier of counties.

The county court of Lewis county voted \$100,000 in 20-year, ten per cent bonds as aid for the new road. These bonds were to be issued and delivered upon the following terms: One-half of the amount when the road should be graded from West Quincy, via LaGrange and Canton, to the north line of the county. The other half was to be issued when the road for that distance should be tied, bridged, the iron laid, and the road in running order. By October, 1869, work on the road was completed sufficiently to warrant the issue of \$25,000 of these bonds. By September, 1870, grading was completed through the county and the remaining half of the first \$50,000 was issued. Work on the road then ceased and the remainder of the Lewis county bonds was never issued.

This road, or rather the remains of it, may be seen today in brush-covered embankments and weathered gullies in several of the northern tier of counties. It is especially noticeable in Scotland and Schuyler

counties. The benefits this road would have given the northern tier of Missouri counties are problematical. There has never been a road running the width of the state through the northern tier of counties and this road might have developed into a through trunk line.

Some time in the late sixties there was projected the road known as the Iowa and Missouri State Line Railroad. This road was designed to run from Farmington, Van Buren county, Iowa, on the Des Moines river, to the Missouri river, a distance of 225 miles.

Pool's "Manual of the Railroads of the United States," 1869-70, says of this road: "This road for its whole distance will follow very nearly upon the boundary line of the states of Iowa and the Missouri, and is intended, in connection with the Midland Pacific Railroad of Nebraska, to carry west the great line of railway now in operation through central Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois to Ft. Kearney on the Union Pacific. It will cross the Missouri river near Nebraska City. One hundred miles of the road, west from Farmington, are already nearly graded from local stock subscription. The company has no funded debt, but it is proposed to make an issue of bonds to purchase iron and equipment equal to \$15,000 per mile. Measures are now on for the purchase of the rails for the portion graded."

But again the residents of northern Missouri were denied an east and west line road, for this road quietly gave up the ghost before there was ever a foot of iron laid. Today, in Scotland county where it borders on Iowa may be seen the remains of this road that was intended, with such high hopes, to be the connecting link in a trans-continental trunk line.

(Editor's Note: Here follows a description of the Parkville and Grand River Railroad, and the Alexandria and Bloomington Railroad, both of which failed of completion.)

#### EMIGRATION TO OREGON

From the St. Louis, *Missouri Reporter*, October 28, 1845, reprinted from the *Platte Argus*.

Oregon City, April 14th, 1845.

To the Editor of the *Platte Argus*:

Dear Sir:—Knowing the lively interest you have ever taken in the Oregon question, and your numerous readers in the States, I embrace the opportunity which presents itself of sending a letter to the States, by a party of some ten or twelve men who expect to start in a few days to cross the Rocky Mountains.

The emigration that left Missouri in the spring of 1844, under the command of Gen. Gilliam and Col. Ford, arrived here safe with their families and stock, having come with their wagons as far as the Dalles on the Columbia, 150 miles from this place, there they took their wagons and families down in boats on the Columbia, and drove their stock over the Cascade mountains.—We met with no serious accident on the way and

were not troubled by the Indians, if we may except the Iowas who stole some of our cattle, but their Chief caused them to make up the loss, on our demanding the worth of our property before leaving them.

I am much better pleased with Oregon than I expected to be on my arrival at this place which, though it is a growing business place, is not as pleasantly situated as many other town sites in Oregon. I have recently returned from the great valley of the Creole river which enters into the Wallamette 100 miles above the Wallamette Falls and am much pleased with that part of the country. It is mostly an open prairie country, though sufficiently timbered for good farms, and the soil is equal to any part of Missouri, or Illinois. The valley is just beginning to be settled, many of the late emigrants having settled there, among them Gen. Gilliam, Col. Ford and Capt. Throp, who commanded the company that crossed the Missouri at the Council Bluffs. Mr. Shaw is also settled in this beautiful valley. Mr. S. brought with him a flock of sheep, and, I believe, did not lose one on the trip. When at his house on the Creole river, I counted twenty-five lambs from his flock of 20 sheep.....

Maj. Harris and several others will soon start to view out a road from the head waters of the Wallamette to the Soda Springs beyond Fort Hall, with the design of bringing the next emigration through that way into the Wallamette valley. A word about prices—common laborers get \$2.00 per day here and board themselves, wheat is worth \$1.00 per bushel, and as we are not yet annoyed with any *Scutiappo*, people do not waste their time at tipling shops—for we have none.

Only let the government of the United States extend the national jurisdiction over this country and enable us to go on as we have begun, and if any country would resemble Paradise, it would be Oregon. But many are becoming disheartened at the tardy movements of Congress in relation to *American Citizens* in this valuable portion of our domain. If Congress intends to lend a helping hand to the infant colony here, now numbering some 5,000 souls, let it be done in this our *time of need*, otherwise we shall soon be compelled to depend upon our own resources for protection and defence from a foreign power. Please send several of your papers here by the next emigration, as they will be read with interest by all Americans in the country. We are not strong, but look to the American flag as our own, and long to see it floating constantly on the waters of the Columbia.

I am, dear sir, yours truly,  
Charles Saxton.

#### HOW COLUMBIA WAS NAMED

Written by William F. Switzler for the Columbia, *Missouri Herald*, January 25, 1901.

Efforts have frequently been made by myself and others to ascertain who first suggested Columbia as the name of our town. Recently I have been successful. It was the late Gen. Thomas A. Smith. He was born

in Essex county, Virginia, August 12, 1781; came to Missouri when it was a territory; and was receiver at the United States land office at Old Franklin. Charles Carroll was register at the public land sales in that town on November 18, 1818, and Gen. Smith died on his farm, called by him "Experiment," in Saline county, on June 25, 1844, aged 63 years. The town which preceded Columbia in 1819-20 was called "Smithton" in compliment to Gen. Smith. When the site was abandoned in 1821 and moved to the present location of Columbia, Gen. Smith maintained that the new town ought to have a new name and he suggested "Columbia" and the commissioners adopted it. Columbia is feminine. Columbus is masculine.

Thomas A. Smith was a brother of the famous John Smith T., of Ste. Genevieve, Missouri.

#### THE OVERLAND MAIL ROUTE

From the San Francisco, *Daily Alta California*, Oct. 12, 1858.

(Editor's Note: Excerpt from the account of a public mass meeting held in Musical Hall, San Francisco, on October 11, 1858, following the arrival of the first overland mail from St. Louis.)

.....J. P. Haven, Esq., after a few appropriate preliminary remarks, stated that he took great pleasure in introducing to the audience Mr. Waterman L. Ormsby, special correspondent of the New York *Herald*, and the first and only through passenger by the overland mail route, in three hours less than twenty-four days.....Mr. Ormsby, who is a young man, has endured his fatiguing trip remarkably well, and says himself, that he lost but little in flesh.

.....He (the speaker) had been told prior to starting on his tour, that dire difficulties would have to be encountered; that he must pass over craggy peaks and waterless deserts; that he would meet rattlesnakes and grizzlies, and hostile Indians. Instead of being in peril he came across very comfortably. He got a meal whenever he wanted it, albeit not the most palatable. He often got beans to eat, and sometimes coffee, and sometimes not. They saw no Indians of consequence on the route. The distance from St. Louis to San Francisco he states to be 2,759 miles. Mr. Ormsby then proceeded to give a brief narrative of his trip. For the first one hundred and sixty miles from St. Louis he traveled on the Pacific Railway to Jefferson City; thence by Concord coach to Springfield, through the richest agricultural region in Missouri; thence to Fayetteville, Arkansas, through the Ozark Mountains. This part of the route is the roughest encountered. He next went on to Fort Smith, the intersection of the Memphis route. Fifteen minutes after they arrived at this point, the Memphis mail came in, which is the best evidence that the junction is at the proper place on the route. After leaving Fort Smith, passed through the Choctaw country to Red river. The Indians all perfectly quiet. Sherman, Texas, was the next settlement; thence to Gainesville. The country in this section is very fine and well wooded. Phantom Hill, a deserted

military station, was next stopped at, and successively Forts Belknap and Chadbourn. At both of these forts a few soldiers are stationed. From Fort Chadbourn to head waters of Concha river the southernmost point on the route and on the 32 degs. parallel; thence they struck over *Llano Estacado*, a barren plain, 75 miles in width. Although in an uncovered wagon, Mr. Ormsby suffered little inconvenience in crossing this plain. He believes that very shortly the trip over this plain will be made in a single day. Thence they journeyed to Pecos river, a tributary of the Rio Grande, and up that stream to Pope's camp, fifty miles below the old Emigrant road. This is on a line with Guadalupe Peak. Thence to Cornudas tanks and Tueco tanks, to Franklin, opposite El Paso; thence 113 miles up the Pecos river. On this section they had no animals except what they took along with them. Stations are needed here, and will soon be established.

The country between Red river and the Pecos is almost entirely uninhabited. Three miles an hour was the average time made on this section, but this delay was more than made up on this side of El Paso. Mr. Ormsby stated that the arrangements on the western half of the road are far more complete than on the eastern side. They then proceeded up on Col. Leach's road, through the Rio Grande and Mesilla valleys, crossing to Cook's Spring; thence to Mimbres, in the Gadsden Purchase. Provisions here have to be furnished by the company. The stations are from 15 to 20 miles apart. From Tucson the route runs through the Pacheco Pass and Pimo villages, to Maricopas; thence through the valley of the Gila to Fort Yuman, on the borders of California. Midway on the sixty miles desert there is a water station. The road up to Los Angeles, and thence to this city, is in fine condition.

Mr. Ormsby suffered none whatever from heat, and but little from cold, anywhere on the road. He deems the route a thoroughly feasible one, although there are still many obstacles to overcome. There is great need of military stations, and Mr. O. suggests that some of those in Texas be scattered along the route. The country abounds in many objects of novelty and interest, which it was impossible for him, considering the private relations he occupied towards the *New York Herald*, to lay in detail before the audience.....

#### CIVIL WAR IN NORTHEAST MISSOURI

From the *Canton Press*, August 28, 1862.

The *Paris Mercury* having been temporarily seized by the military authorities, the last number comes to us bearing the editorial imprint of our old friend Maj. W. W. Granger, Superintendent of Enrollment for Northeast Missouri. It is characteristic throughout—as the Major “talks like a father” to the good citizens of Monroe county. We clip the following specimen brick from the introductory address—and refer to other articles elsewhere.

"Our counsel is let every honest man join to hunt the bushwhackers out of the county, and hereafter show them no sign or favor. Tell them plainly we will expose and hunt down the last man of you.

"Citizens! You have got both sides of the war to support, as long as you allow it to last. Make it a war of only one side, and you will again have peace. You may rest assured that if the Government has to cut down every stick of bush and timber in Monroe county, and fill up every ravine in it, and drive out every resident, it will retain the county, even if it first must be made a desert without a dweller. The Government and the Military have done with the complimentary "soft sawder" and rosewater style towards rebels and their sympathizers.

"You can dance with Porter or the President, but you must choose partners and stick to your choice. This Journal for once, advises you plainly and honestly, to *be loyal*."

"WILD BILL" HICKOK'S "BABY BOY"

From the *Springfield Leader*, June 9, 1929.

..... Perhaps for the first time the story of "Wild Bill" Hickok's "Baby Boy" is told. .... He is James Marion Cain, 86 years old, one of Springfield's real pioneer citizens, for he was born here July 24, 1843. ....

James Cain was about twenty years old. .... The year was 1863. .... Two men met in a pool room. Hickok then about 38, played pool all night with Cain. When the sun was coming up over the horizon they went to Cain's boarding house and had breakfast. The friendship was cemented there. ....

"He always used to call me his 'Baby Boy'," Cain recollected. ....

"Everybody knew 'Wild Bill' and they knew he meant what he said. He didn't talk loose, the way a lot of people do now, making threats and then not carrying them out. He said a thing just once. But at that I don't recall that he had any other trouble in Springfield except his fight with Dave Tutt. I saw the whole affair.

"You know, Bill was a great hand to play poker, and he usually won. I've seen him come back with a pocketfull of those shinplasters, we used to call them—paper money worth 25 cents, 50 cents, and so on. When he sat down he used to take out a gun and lay it at his right hand on the table.

"Tutt and Bill were playing in Tom Andrews saloon on the southwest corner of the square. That was where they tangled. I was right there watching the whole thing. Bill had won about \$500 from Tutt. Money was all on the table and there was a heap of it. Bill won the pot and reached over to take the money.

"'You ain't going to take that,' Tutt says.

"Bill says, 'I am going to. . . I have taken it.' And he scooped in the money.

"'Either one or the other of us is going to die before night,' Tutt says. They were good friends, too, for they'd been together a good deal.

Never could understand how they happened to tangle. Guess Tutt just thought he was a better man than Bill.

"Why, I've seen Bill ride his horse and kill hawks flying high in the air with his revolvers. He could shoot just as well with his left hand as with his right. He was lightning fast on the draw.

"Anyway, they finally had their trouble on the square. I was about ten feet from Bill. I had my back turned so I never saw him draw and fire, but he shot clear across the square and Tutt dropped dead. Tutt had claimed some irregularity in Bill's poker playing, but those were the days when you could expect those things, and I guess Tutt had been doing the same things and got a little of his own medicine. ....

"Nobody ever needed to have any trouble with Bill. He was always in good humor. When he set down to a poker game he was as likely to play a day or so.

"I was likely to be found somewhere close. Bill never let anybody bother me. He would say, 'Here, my friend, leave my Baby Boy alone.' He didn't raise his voice. He talked quiet and gentle, but nobody ever bothered me after they found out Bill was my friend.

"I'll never forget one time when Bill and I and some others rode right into a camp of rebels at night down in the breaks of the Merrimac river in Phelps county. You know Bill scouted for General Sigel and other officers. It was a bushwhacking gang and there were only a few of them. We didn't know they were rebs until we had led our horses into camp and fed them.

"Of course they took our guns away and put a guard over us. Along about four o'clock in the morning Bill asked the guard for a match. The fellow bent over to get one out of his pocket and Bill hit him on the head with a rock he had behind his back. It was the only time but one that I saw him use anything but a gun. ....

"I never knew Bill when he was dressed up in his frock coat and all the rig that most everybody knew him by. He just wore an ordinary suit here in Springfield. Sometimes when he was scouting he dressed mighty plain, and you'd take him for anybody else but Bill Hickok. Sometimes he'd have on a pair of leather pants.

"After a couple of years he went away and I never saw him again. Of course stories came back about him but that was the last I saw of Bill Hickok." .....

#### JIM CUMMINS, CONFEDERATE

From the Richmond, *Missourian*, July 18, 1929.

Jim Cummins died at the State Confederate Home at Higginsville, Mo., July 9th, at the age of 82 years, having lived at the Home most of the time for 27 years.

Cummins was a picturesque character, known to ever so many Rayities locally. He visited Richmond many times, and told Jewell Mayes "a lot

of things" pledged to secrecy until his death, but, upon being asked concerning same, Mr. Mayes replies that he was never able to sift out fact from romance. Mr. Mayes often talked with him for hours.

Cummins told Mayes the inside story of the Richmond bank robbery, but insisted that he was not here in that bloody tragedy, because "my horse's shoes came loose, causing me to stop at the blacksmith shop in Claysville to have the animal shod." He said "the fellows who paid the death penalty were part of the guilty."

Old Jim bitterly hated the James boys, especially Jesse James. He told many stories of the local doings of the Ford and James crowd, not agreeing in several points with accredited history. He told florid tales of the cruelty and heartlessness of Jesse James.

Cummins jointly wrote a book, and got worsted in his publication. He told Mayes that he was leaving a manuscript of his life, to be published after his death. This old ex-Confederate had a rambling style that lacked frankness of fact, not going to the point of a statement. Full of hate and filled with bias, his memoirs can hardly be hoped to be of permanent value. Mr. Mayes has a copy of his first book.

Jim insisted that ne never helped to rob a train. He told intimately of the Gallatin train robbery, but vowed he was in Texas at the time. He was always promising to reveal many wonderful things, "when one or two more fellows dropped off."

#### "SHOW ME"—ANOTHER VERSION

From St. Louis *Reedy's Mirror*, February 23, 1911.

This the version of the popular descriptive term of Missouri:

A party of tourists was journeying across the continent in a Rock Island sleeper.

Among the number was a lady who was ever intimating that Boston was the hub of the universe.

Finally one of the passengers asked her, "Well, madam, next to Boston, what part of the world suits you best?"

She answered: "Next to Boston, California is my ideal." Then up spoke a man from Southwest Missouri: "But, madame, have you ever seen the Cherokee Strip?"

She snapped back: "No gentleman would ask such an impudent question of a lady."

"Well, I beg your pardon, madame. I am from Missouri, where that language is used in the best of society, and I wish you would show me the impropriety of my words."

"Sir, you asked me if I had ever seen a Cherokee strip. Of course I have, but you should have asked me if I had ever seen a Cherokee disrobe."

And thus was cast on the shores of time a phrase that will go thundering down the ages with ever-increasing emphasis: "*Show me, Missouri!*"—A letter to the *Mirror* from H. C. Henney, of Santa Cruz, California.



"SHOW ME"—AN EXPLANATION

From the St. Louis *Reedy's Mirror*, May 9, 1912.

I used to think that the legend of "You must show me," an indicative of the autochthonous Missourian's natural attitude of cautious dubiety, was a base slander on our view of progress, but the other day I learned my error. Judge Hoggett, of Alaska, was down in South St. Louis trying to sell some Colorado land to a crowd of Germans. After he had spoken suavisly, as only he could speak, one old Teuton got up and said: "Oxcuse me, Jutch Hoggett. Vot you saidt is nice yet, but ve are hard believers." I submit that "hard believers" is a rich, rare and racy gloss upon "You must show me." It must be in the air, in Missouri.

SHOWER OF METEORS LIBERATED A SLAVE

Reprinted from the St. Louis *Republic* by the Glasgow *Globe*, May 12, 1904.

The story of how falling stars set a Boone county negro free is often told in Boone county. Colonel W. F. Switzler, the veteran journalist, is one of the few men living who were in Boone county at the time the incident occurred.

Colonel Switzler tells it as follows: "In 1816 Isham Reavis started from Kentucky to Missouri, taking with him his family, household effects and a negro woman with a family of seven children, all his slaves. He was one of the first of the multitude of Kentucky and Virginia immigrants who afterwards filled up what are known as the "bourbon counties" of Missouri.

"Hearing that an Indian uprising was imminent in the new country Reavis stopped in Illinois, remaining there six months. The slavery question was just then being agitated and, although he was not aware of it, Reavis' short residence in Illinois had given his slaves their freedom. He moved on to Missouri and located in Saline county, where he died some time in the late twenties, leaving his slaves to his heirs. The negroes were divided among the sons and daughters, and Sant, a valuable young buck, fell as the apportionment of Mark Reavis, living a few miles from Columbia.

"By some means the negro heard of the Illinois incident and on attaining the age of 21, determined to sue for his liberty. He employed Peyton Hayden of Boonville, then one of the most famous lawyers in the State, to conduct his case. The astonished master realized that he had a fight on his hands and retained for his counsel, Austin A. King, Abiel Leonard and John Gordon. King was afterwards Governor of Missouri, and Leonard one of the ablest Supreme Judges the State ever had. Gordon stood at the head of the Boone county bar.

"The case was tried before Judge David Todd in Columbia in December, 1833, and attracted widespread interest. It aroused all the intense and bitter passion then responsive to any agitation of the slavery question. However, in spite of the bitter prejudice, the negro received a fair trial and was finally set free. But that didn't end the matter. The master felt that he had been defrauded of his property through a technicality, and, urged by his friends, resolved to run the negro down South and thereby

nullify the verdict of the court. Arrangements were hurriedly made with Ned Camplin, a noted Missouri river negro buyer, whereby, in consideration of \$1,200, Sant was to be carried down South. The start was to be made from Terrapin Neck the following night. Assisted by several prominent citizens, the Reavis boys caught the negro and hurried him to the Brady landing. There he was handcuffed and tied and kept hidden, under guard all the next day.

"That night they sat in the silent woods and waited eagerly for the arrival of the steamboat. At that time whistles on steamboats were unknown, and the weary waiters had no way of learning of the approach of the boat but by listening for the wheezing of the engines or churning of the paddle wheels in the water. At last the long vigil was over, and the captors rushed to the bank with the shivering negro, hailing the advent of the boat with shouts of delight. But just then something happened the like of which has not occurred again in these seventy years. Of a sudden the earth, and even the river itself seemed afire. They looked up and the very stars themselves were falling from their sockets in the December night skies—not one, two, or a half dozen, but by thousands. The woods behind them were a sheet of living fire, while Camplin's steamboat stood midstream in a shower of hissing flame and the hills beyond loomed ghostlike in the supernatural light.

"Terror struck every heart, and the negro, falling to his knees, began praying fast and loud. The white men were good farmers, but their astronomical teaching had been neglected. In their simple ignorance they believed the judgment day had come unexpectedly and caught them at Terrapin Neck at an unearthly hour of the night and engaged in the questionable business of "running South" a miserable negro whom the courts had declared to be free.

"It took but an instant for fear and remorse combined to work out the result. They tore the shackles from the negro and told him to go, determined not to be caught redhanded. The exultation of freedom overcame the negro's fright, and he went one way as fast as they went another. It was not until the next day, when they found the earth and sky still intact and that the stars didn't really fall, that the white men told the story, about which their friends never ceased to twit them.

"What became of the negro? The next heard of him he was with Marney and Hicks in the first (?) of the expeditions over the old Santa Fe Trail, and the last known of him he had married a Mexican woman and was the richest mulatto in the whole Southwest.

"But there is another part of the story that terminated differently. Solomon Reavis, another brother living at Georgetown, the present Sedalia, owned the remaining six negroes of the family, and under the decision they were likewise entitled to freedom. But they never secured it. Their master had runners at the trial in Columbia, and the minute the verdict was brought to him, the six were hurried off in a bunch to the cotton fields of the South."





